

Vol. 14, No. 1 December 1986 (Poush) 2043

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



Journal of the
Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal

CNAS

contributions to nepalese studies

Chief Editor: Kamal P. Malla

Managing Editor: Nirmal M. Tuladhar

Editors: Dhanavajra Vajracharya

Dilli R. Dahal

Chaitanya Mishra



Journal of the
Research Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal

CNAS

Contents

	<u>Page</u>
1. Diversity and Change in the Languages of Highland Nepal Michael Hutt	1 - 24
2. Sita and the Goddess: A Case Study of a Woman Healer in Nepal Linda M. Dougherty	25 - 36
3. Tourists and Sherpas James F. Fisher	37 - 62
4. डोटी बाइसी हो कि होइन ? राजाराम सुवेदी	६३ - ७४
5. वर्णकृत्ति : एक अप्रकाशित व्यासफू धनवज्र वज्राचार्य	७५ - ९०
Book Review:	
Padma Prakash Shrestha (Ed.): <i>Nepal Rediscovered</i> Ananda P. Shrestha	91 - 94
James F. Fisher: <i>Trans-Himalayan Traders: Economy Society and Culture in Northwest Nepal</i> B. N. Aziz	95 - 98

Diversity and Change in the Languages of Highland Nepal¹

Michael Hutt

Linguistic Diversity

Although the population of Nepal numbers only fifteen million², it is extremely diverse. There have been several periods of immigration by a variety of ethnic groups, and the constraints of geography have traditionally conspired to produce small and fairly isolated settlements. As a nation, Nepal can now present a semblance of cultural homogeneity to the outside world, but the Nepalese are still composed to some extent of disparate ethnic and linguistic elements. The nation possesses an official national language, spoken by at least eighty percent of its people. Even so, nearly half of the population still speaks an enormous variety of languages as its mother-tongues. Nearly sixty years ago, the great scholar of Indo-Aryan linguistics, Professor R.L. Turner, observed:

In a population of under six millions in all there are spoken at least scores...of languages, all mutually unintelligible, and some broken up again into numerous and often very different dialects. Even within the limits of a single valley there may be a village the inhabitants of which speak a language completely unintelligible to their neighbours a mile or two away. (1928:63)

Very few studies have been made of the more obscure Nepalese languages. In fact, so little is known about some of them that there is very little agreement about which language family should claim them. This diversity is decreasing appreciably as the political and cultural unification of the country proceeds, and the linguistic and literary research which is conducted in the academic institutions of Nepal concerns itself primarily with the national language, Nepali. As a consequence, however,

...there have been a number of studies which view the Nepalese world from a monocultural-linguistic perspective for the simple reason that this is easier to do. (Bista 1982:1-2).

The "bicultural-linguistic perspective" is also attacked by another Nepali writer:

It would be a happy but over-simplified generalization to talk of two languages, two peoples, or even two cultures of Nepal — the language and culture of the conquerors (i.e. the Gorkhas) and the language and culture of the subjugated peoples Such a neat segmentation...is not very helpful for examining the complex ethnic, cultural and linguistic situation in Nepal. (Malla 1979:135).

Ethnic Diversity

Very few of the many ethnic groups and "tribes" of highland Nepal can claim to be autochthonous in the regions they now inhabit. It is generally accepted, for instance, that the people who traditionally speak Nepali as their mother-tongue, and who have come to dominate the recent history of Nepal, came into the region from the south and west within the past thousand years. The theory is probably borne out by the fact that the closely-linked processes of Sanskritisation and "Nepalisation" have reached a rather more advanced stage in the west of the kingdom than they have in the east³.

The early Indo-Aryan immigrants were preceded by people who spoke Tibeto-Burman languages. The first wave of immigration probably involved those who now speak languages classified as "pronominalized"⁴, including the Rai groups, the Limbu and certain strata now incorporated among the Newars⁵. The second wave of immigration from the north involved speakers of "Non-pronominalized" Tibeto-Burman languages such as Gurung, Magar and Tamang, and the third and most recent arrivals were the smaller groups of Tibetan peoples, such as the Sherpa. It is very difficult to establish dates for any of the early movements, but it is likely that the Kathmandu Valley was inhabited mainly by speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages prior to the rise of the Licchavi dynasty in the fifth century A.D., as more than 80% of the area's place-names were then non-Sanskritic⁶.

The indigenous peoples of the Nepalese hills might have been of Austro-Asiatic stock; Brian Hodgson⁷ thought that they were the ancestors of the "broken tribes" such as Bayu (or Hayu) the Chepang, and speakers of languages such as Jhangad and Kusunda. Very little scholarly attention has been paid to these peoples since Hodgson's papers were first published, and so it is difficult to assess their claim to antiquity.

The classification of minority ethnic groups and their languages still causes problems. Although many of them seem once to have inhabited specific "homeland" areas, migration within Nepal has complicated the picture greatly. Sizeable "enclaves" of minorities such as Newars now live in towns far from "homelands" such as the Kathmandu Valley. The anthropologist Walter Frank proposed an interesting classification of such groups, using terminology culled from Nepali, but his identification of two groups of hill-peoples, "Parbatiya" (Indo-Aryans)

and Tibeto-Burmese), seems simplistic.⁸ Other scholars have been more circumspect. Bista, for instance, urges caution:

because of the increasing mobility of different groups across geographic boundaries the regional divisions indicate only the stereotypes. (1972: vii).

An Enumeration of Nepalese Languages

Great problems are encountered by anyone who attempts to count the languages of Nepal. The results of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal, conducted in the early 1980s, are as yet unavailable, at least to this researcher, but some sterling preliminary work was carried out earlier by Dr. Subhadra Subba of the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies at Kirtipur⁹. The following list includes all the languages mentioned by the Censuses of 1961, 1971 and 1981, and by Dr. Subba. "Major" languages are those whose mother-tongue speakers are still enumerated by the Nepal Census; each language mentioned is designated as Indo-Aryan (IA), Tibeto-Burman (TB), Austro-Asiatic (AA) and Dravidian (D).

"Major" languages: Nepali (IA 58.3%), Maithili (IA 11.1%), Bhojpuri (IA 9.5%), Tharu (IA 3.6%), Tamang (TB 3.4%), Newari (TB 2.9%), Avadhi (IA 1.6%), Rai-Kiranti (TB 1.5%), Magar (TB 1.4%), Gurung (TB 1.2%), Limbu (TB 0.9%), Bhote Sherpa (TB 0.5%), Rajbansi (IA 0.4%), Danuwar (IA 0.1%), Sunwar (TB 0.07%), Santhali (AA c.0.17%), Thakali (TB 0.03%).

"Minor" languages: Majhi, Kumhale, Darai, Bote, Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Marwari, (all IA), Chepang, Dhimal, Pahari¹⁰, Jirel, Lepcha, Meche, Raji, Thami, Byansi, Kham, Tibetan, Bayu¹¹, Loke, Kaike, Lhomi, Rautya (all TB), Jhangad (D), Satar and Kusunda (both AA).

Before reaching an estimated total, it should be remembered that the name "Rai-Kiranti" covers about 17 mutually unintelligible languages, that Avadhi and Bhojpuri might more accurately be treated as dialects of Hindi, and that languages such as Loke and Kaike are probably dialects of Tibetan. On this basis, it can be estimated that 56 languages are currently spoken in Nepal.

The Censuses of Nepal

The primary source for statistical data on the status of Nepalese languages is the Nepal Census. This survey is conducted every 10 years; as well as being a most valuable source of information, it is also an interesting reflection of the Government's attitude to the linguistic diversity of the kingdom.

Two of the most fundamental objectives of the Government of Nepal can be summed up by the terms "internal cohesion" and "external distinction"¹². First, the many communities which inhabit the various regions of Nepal must coalesce to form a cohesive nation. Second, it

must be possible to distinguish this unified and integrated nation from those which adjoin it geographically. National integration is undoubtedly taking place in Nepal, but the kingdom's "internal cohesion" is still compromised to some extent by the existence of disparate ethnic and linguistic groups. Much the same can be said with regard to the objective of "external distinction": because Nepal does not consist of a single mono-cultural community, many of its people, particularly those who live on the country's borders, are indistinguishable from their neighbours in India or Tibet in their appearance, language and customs.

Government policy on language reflects both of these objectives. In Nepal, the inculcation of national feeling does require improvements in the internal communication system, and obviously the establishment of a "single linguistic code" has been an important element of this. I have described the promotion and development of Nepali in some detail elsewhere;¹³ here we are concerned with examining the effects which its ascendancy has had upon certain of the other languages of Nepal. In this context it is important to note the ways in which the Government has altered its presentation of language data in the Censuses. The 1952/4 Census¹⁴ gave figures for mother-tongue speakers of 41 languages, including 6 extremely vague categories of regional dialects. This list was completely revised in 1961, and the Census of that year included data on only 35 languages. This reclassification also produced some dramatic changes in the number of speakers given for certain languages. The number of Hindi-speakers, for instance, dropped from 80,200 to 2,900, while speakers of Bhojpuri increased from 16,300 to 577,400 and Avadhi received its first mention, with 447,100 speakers. It was quite obvious that the importance of Hindi had been greatly de-emphasised, and reattributed to Avadhi and Bhojpuri. These latter are both regarded as dialects of Hindi in India. The issue of national language had aroused some controversy in the Tarai. Resistance to the imposition of Nepali in education, etc. centred largely on Hindi, which was claimed to be the genuine *lingua franca* in the region¹⁵. It is very probable, therefore, that these changes in the Census were in part a response to these circumstances.

The 1971 Census included a more detailed compilation of data on language use, presented for each of the 14 *anchal* and 75 *jillā*. However, only seventeen languages were listed. Many of the languages for which data had been given in previous surveys were completely omitted, presumably being subsumed into the two categories of "local district languages" and "other languages," which together claimed some 4% of the population. This researcher has not yet had sight of the results of the 1981 Census, but preliminary statistics released in the *Nepal Press Digest*¹⁶ suggest that the same language categories have been retained. Languages which are "ignored" by the 1971 and 1981 Censuses fall into two categories. The first consists of languages which a Nepali nationalist would regard as "foreign". Thus, there is no mention of Hindi, Bengali, Urdu or Tibetan, but figures are given for the number of people who speak Bhojpuri, Avadhi and "Bhote Sherpa." This distinguishes them externally from speakers of similar tongues in neighbouring countries. The second category consists of minor Nepalese

languages whose speakers have probably declined in number since 1961. It is felt in some quarters that the exclusion of most minor languages from the Census reflects an unwillingness to represent the country as linguistically fragmented. However, it is also true that diversity of spoken mother-tongues is no longer readily equatable with fragmentation, as Nepali becomes the second language of a steadily-increasing majority.

Nepali as the Lingua Franca

Since at least as early as the seventeenth century, Nepali has been developing into a fully-fledged link-language or *lingua-franca* throughout central and western Nepal, to a slightly lesser extent in the eastern hills, and increasingly in the Tarai and the northernmost mountain regions. Every Nepal Census has stated that Nepali is the mother-tongue of more than half of the population. In 1971, Nepali-speakers were in a clear majority in 8 of the 14 *anchal*, and speakers of any one other language constituted a majority in only two *anchal*. At district level, it becomes evident that mother-tongue speakers of Nepali constitute a minority in 18 of the 75 *jillā*. 16 of these are Tarai districts, in 9 of which speakers of a single other language constituted over 80% of the total population. Only two districts of highland Nepal are populated by a majority whose mother-tongue is not Nepali: they are Rasuwa, where Tamang-speakers were 83% in 1971, and Manang, where the 1971 Census recorded that 50% of the population were speakers of Gurung.

Until recently, the policy of the Nepal Government towards languages other than Nepali seems to have been one of "benign neglect". The only published statement of official policy towards "minority languages" appeared in the *Gorkhāpatra* national newspaper in October 1957:

"The General Policy of the Nepal Government Towards Languages and Dialects Current in Nepal."

1. The policy of the Nepal Government concerning the languages and dialects current in the country is both liberal and democratic.
2. The Government has not adopted, nor does it intend to adopt a policy which suppresses the language of any ethnic group or region, or which is spoken and propagated amongst any community in any part of Nepal. The Government intends that the speakers of all these languages should always retain the appropriate democratic right to further the development of the language or dialect of each Nepalese community or ethnic group.
3. There can be no doubt of the fact that Nepali has long since attained the status of an administrative language, acquiring both universality and strength. Hence, this same language appears in the present circumstances to be a major factor favouring the promotion of national unity and the Government believes that a working knowledge of the language is utterly essential for every Nepalese citizen. Accordingly, the Government has accommodated other

languages, of other regions and ethnic groups, in schools up to primary level. The intention of the Government is that, through the establishment of a Nepali medium up to the middle standard in Upper High Schools, the capabilities of Nepalese citizens and officials will be enhanced in this age of progress and democracy, as a result of their increasing proficiency in Nepali.

4. Mindful of the proportionate value and importance of the local and minority languages and dialects other than Nepali, the Nepal Government has adopted a policy which provides them with all possible aid and encouragement, in order to further their development.
5. The Nepal Government fully hopes and trusts that every Nepalese citizen alive today will heartily support this Government policy which is democratic and an aid to the building of the nation.

Nepali was formally declared to be the national language by Chandra Shamsher in 1905, but there is little evidence of any coherent policy towards the other languages of Nepal until the National Education Plans which followed the political changes of 1950/1. The Ranas' policy seems to have involved intermittent repression, and their attitude to Newari was especially harsh. The intolerance may well have been prompted by a kind of racial or caste prejudice; there are references to minority languages as "the speech of the illiterate" or "the dialects of the jungle" in pre-1950 Nepali literature¹⁷.

It was the imposition of Nepali as medium of education in the early 1960s which caused the Government the greatest problems in the implementation of its language policy¹⁸, both in terms of actual practical difficulties, and also the opposition it aroused, particularly in the Tarai. At about the same time, the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley also reasserted their loyalty to their language. Other than these, few minor languages have had particularly vocal advocates. Newari, and several Tarai languages, have their own distinctive literary traditions, but few of the Tibeto-Burman languages even possess their own scripts.

Although Nepali is very much weaker in the Tarai than in the hill regions, the major Tarai languages do have strong affinities with Nepali, and with each other, by virtue of the fact that they are all Indo-Aryan. There are genuine differences between the Nepalese of the hills and those of the plains, but the fact that the majority of the Tarai population is Hindu, like the elite of Kathmandu, means that integration into the nation brings no great cultural changes. The question of "Sanskritisation" cannot really arise, and changes in language use have occurred slowly throughout most of the Tarai over the past twenty years. It will take decades for Nepali to replace Hindi as the *lingua franca*, if it happens at all, and most languages will co-exist with it for the foreseeable future¹⁹. The situation in the hills and mountains is more complicated, and it is therefore necessary to consider the status of the Tibeto-Burman languages in greater detail.

Tibeto-Burman Languages of the Nepalese Hills

The peoples of the middle-hill regions speak a variety of Tibeto-Burman languages, as well as Nepali. Most of these are vernaculars (*bolicāliko bhāṣā*) which lack a written form, and they frequently comprise a number of dialects which may be mutually incomprehensible. Many Tibeto-Burman languages are current in those parts of the country where Nepali has been established as *lingua franca* for the longest time, and their speakers have been more "Nepalised" in linguistic terms than the peoples of the Tarai, as a consequence.

Several attempts have been made to establish a classificatory system for the Tibeto-Burman languages, but agreement among scholars of the subject is not yet unqualified. In 1909, the compilers of the *Linguistic Survey of India* observed,

On the whole it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily. They must have split up into many different forms of speech at a very early period, and there are numerous crossings and intercrossings. (Grierson 1909:10).

Laying aside all such considerations of linguistic affinities or structural characteristics²⁰, these languages may also be grouped together summarily in terms of their current status vis-a-vis bilingualism with Nepali, and the relative "strength" of each language in retaining its mother-tongue speakers. On this basis, it is my contention that the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal can be divided into four groups:

- (1) Those languages which possess a literary tradition or a religious importance of some antiquity which can ensure a continuing cultural affiliation on the part of their speakers. The only examples are Newari and Tibetan²¹.
- (2) Those languages which are spoken in the remoter districts of the eastern zones of Nepal. Lacking an established literary tradition, although sometimes possessing their own writing systems, they are likely to lose many speakers as the status of Nepali is enhanced by improved communications with the rest of the country. In these eastern regions, however, this process is not far advanced and the gradual spread of bilingualism has not yet caused widespread "displacement" of local languages. Examples are Limbu and the Rai languages.
- (3) Those languages which lack a literary tradition and which are spoken in western regions where Nepali has been dominant for several centuries. Speakers of these languages tend to be fully bilingual, and their mother-tongues often show a marked Nepali influence. Examples are Gurung, Magar, Tamang and Thakali.

- (4) The languages of the so-called "broken tribes" of Nepal²². Their speakers are rapidly decreasing in number. Examples are Bayu and Chepang.

As a general rule, the bilingualism of Tibeto-Burman speakers with Nepali is at its maximum in the west of Nepal and it decreases eastwards, (discounting the Kathmandu Valley, which is linguistically more diverse than other areas). This is clearly linked to the western origins of the national language, and also to the expansion of political control over unified Nepal, which proceeded from west to east. The degree and prevalence of bilingualism is also an indication of the stage which has been reached in the continuing processes of Sanskritisation in any given community.

The large number of Tibeto-Burman languages current in Nepal precludes an assessment of the status of each one in relation to the growing dominance of Nepali. Thus, the current situation with regard to five languages, which are each illustrative of some important trends, is described in the final part of this article.

Newari

Newari was classified by Grierson as a member of the "simple or non-pronominalized" group of Himalayan dialects²³. Its origins are probably very ancient; indeed, the very name *Nepāl* is clearly related to the word *Newār* or *Newā*, and once referred only to the central valley of Kathmandu. Speakers of Newari continue to refer to their language as *Nepāl bhāṣā* and to the Valley as *Nepāl*. Although they are widely regarded as a homogenous and distinct ethnic group within Nepal, the Newar "race" is actually composed of a number of diverse elements who now share a common mother tongue and broad cultural affiliation²⁴. It may be that the term *Newār* was originally used to refer to an inhabitant of the Nepal Valley who would have spoken *Nepāl bhāṣā* as his mother tongue prior to the spread of Gorkhālī (Nepali) in the 17th century. Although the character of their language suggests that most of the Newars must have a northern origin, there is a school of thought which ascribes to them a prehistoric homeland in the Dravidian south of India. Whether or not this can be substantiated²⁵ remains to be seen, but the linguistic evidence does suggest a Himalayan origin for the majority.

Mother-tongue speakers of Newari amount to less than 4% of the total population of Nepal and so it would appear to be a typical "minority" language if judged on this purely statistical basis. Yet Newari is unusual among the languages of Nepal, for the majority of its speakers continue to inhabit one distinct region of the country. According to the 1971 Census, approximately 63% of all the Newari speakers of Nepal live in the three *jillā* of the Kathmandu Valley and the central Bagmati *ancal* is home to about 73% of them. Elsewhere in Nepal, there are Newar communities in most market towns, such as Pokhara, Tansen and Dhankuta. Bista observes,

Newars have always travelled for trade and business, while all other groups....migrate in search of land for farming or for other employment. There have been very few Newars living in these outlying districts who have taken to agriculture as their sole occupation, whereas in Kathmandu Valley great numbers of Newars are strictly farmers. (Bista 1972:18).

The Newars have certainly played an important role in Nepalese cultural history and a just claim can undoubtedly be made for the eminence of their literary heritage. Yet Newari is often mis-represented as the "second language" of Nepal, a statement which is simply untrue in a strictly numerical sense, and is a reflection of the "Kathmandu-centric" bias of some observers and the fact that the Newars possess their own literature.

In the Kathmandu Valley, Newari was the language of a culture of unprecedented diversity and eclecticism, to which the distinctive environment of the Valley towns still bears witness. In general, the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal lack a literate culture; ethnic groups such as the Gurung, Rai or Limbu undoubtedly possess their own traditions, but their cultures are generally of a material and functional nature. The Newars are an exception to this generalisation, for they are the only Tibeto-Burman speaking group of Nepal to have developed both a literate culture and also a material culture which is most notable for its non-functional aspects.

The aesthetic sensibilities of the Newars found their primary expression in material culture such as architecture and sculpture; literature lagged somewhat behind. Despite this, the earliest Newari text, the *Mānavanyāyaśāstra*, dates from 1380 A.D.,²⁶ predating the earliest examples of true literature in Nepali by three centuries. At first, Sanskrit texts were translated into Newari, and a commentary was often added in the same language, but original works soon began to be composed in what is now known as "classical Newari". Its richest genre was poetry, and over 1600 poetic compositions are extant in the language, dating back to 1570 A.D. Quantities of prose and drama were also produced, often influenced by languages such as Maithili. Kamal P. Malla, who has done much to publicise and promote Newari literature in Nepal over the last few years, describes the content of this body of literature as,

a most tangible evidence of the symbiosis between a Tibeto-Burman language and the Indo-Aryan culture.
(Malla 1982:4).

At first, Newari language and literature remained quite unaffected by the political unification of Nepal which involved the conquest of each of the Newar kingdoms of the Valley in the latter half of the 18th century. The increasing dominance of the Nepali *lingua-franca* caused the introduction of a large number of loanwords into the spoken language,

and Newari writers adapted many verbs for inclusion in their literary language. There seems to have been little antagonism between speakers of the two languages, and the Shāh kings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries did nothing to suppress Newari or retard the growth of its literature. In 1775, the treaty between Nepal and Tibet was written partly in Newari²⁷ and King Rājendra Vikram Shāh (r.1817-1847) is even said to have penned a drama in Newari²⁸.

Under the Rana regime, however, and particularly whilst Chandra Shamsher was in power, the Nepali speaking élite began to discriminate against speakers of other languages, particularly the Tibeto-Burman vernaculars and, due perhaps to the proximity of the majority of Newars to the capital, especially Newari. In 1905, the French scholar Sylvain Lévi observed,

From generation to generation the Newari language
recedes and gives place to the advantage of the
Parbatiya - the language of the victors.
(Lévi 1905: Vol.1:252)

Many Newars had been writing their language in the *devanāgarī* script since the 17th century and by 1910 the old Newari scripts such as *ranjanā* and *bhūji mola* had effectively died out. The fortunes of the language declined still further under the Ranas; from 1940 to 1945, for instance, writing in Newari was considered virtually a treasonable offence, and many of the foremost Newari poets were sent to jail²⁹. Under other rulers, too, Newari literature was suppressed or heavily censored.

In their retention of their language, the Newars have proved themselves to be a resilient speech community. They have benefitted from their demographic concentration in political and commercial centres throughout the country and they have become the most influential and literate non-Indo-Aryan group of Nepal as a consequence. Bilingualism is extremely widespread among Newari-speakers; they live in close-knit communities and it is significant that most of the Newars who no longer speak their mother-tongue are those who live outside the Valley, isolated from other Newar communities. Under the Ranas, Newars struggled to maintain their literary tradition and the Government allowed the publication of Newari literature from 1946, after pressure from Indian Buddhist societies. From its inception in 1951 until 1965, Radio Nepal even transmitted news broadcasts in Newari. Hence Newari language and literature have experienced something of a revival since 1950; in his Bibliography, Kamal P. Malla (1978) lists some 1000 books published between 1920 and 1977. Several Newars who have become known for their literary compositions in Nepali also write in Newari; the late Cittadhar "Hṛdaya" has 22 books in Newari to his credit and Kedāramān "Vyathit", erstwhile Vice-Chancellor of the Royal Nepal Academy, has written 5 books of Newari verse. About 25 literary societies are in existence, the most notable being the *Nepāl Bhāṣā Pariṣad* and *Cvasapasa*,³⁰ and several Newari journals, including at least one daily newspaper, are published regularly in the Valley towns. Between 1952 and 1967, 26 Newari periodicals were registered with the central authorities³¹.

Kamal P. Malla discerns four attitudes current towards Newari: hostility on the part of the academic establishment, indifference on the part of educated Newars, condescension from Nepali speakers, and complacency from the protagonists of the language³². Despite this rather gloomy overview, Newars have begun to reassert their linguistic identity in Nepal. Newari publications are now more widely available in the Valley than at any other time, attempts are being made to revive usage of the old scripts and M.A. classes in Newari were recently (c.1980) inaugurated at Tribhuvan University. Despite long years of neglect and prevalent bilingualism with Nepali, the Newari language will almost certainly be maintained.

Limbu

Although some authors have chosen to classify the Limbu and their language as members of the *Kirāntī* group, which includes over a dozen fairly distinct ethnic and linguistic groups of the eastern hills, the compilers of the Nepal Censuses have distinguished between "Rai-Kiranti" and "Limbu" as if they constituted two separate and homogenous languages. Clearly these classifications conceal a group of languages which are as yet substantially unresearched. In addition, Subba asserts that "the Limbu group of languages consists of two separate languages, namely Chha Thare Limbu and Panch Thare or "proper Limbu". (Subba 1976: 146).

As is the case with most Tibeto-Burman languages, Limbu is exclusively the mother-tongue of members of the ethnic group of the same name. Although they amount to less than 1.5% of the total population of Nepal, the Limbu are a major constituent of the population of the eastern hills. Virtually all of Nepal's Limbu-speakers are resident in Mechi and Koshi zones, and 88% live in the districts of Panchthar, Taplejung, Ilam, Terhathum and Dhankuta.

Traditionally, Limbus have inhabited the region known as *Pallo Kirānt* or "Far Kirānt" and they refer to their homeland as *Limbūwan*. This is a "middle-hill" area, and few Limbus live outside it, only limited migration having taken place in an easterly direction.

The Limbus may once have had a minor literary tradition of their own; (Malla 1979:140) notes that the Rai and the Limbus have an ancient literature of their own including a *Veda*, and (Bista 1972:44) states that books in the Limbu language are "scattered and difficult to find"³³. Certainly, Limbu literature barely survives, if it lives at all.

Most Limbus, however, have not forsaken their own language, and some consciously resist the acquisition of any other; these latter, however, are a minority, and bi-lingualism is increasing. A Limbu's knowledge of Nepali, and the grammatical correctness of the Nepali he is able to speak, is largely related to his economic status; those who are indebted to immigrant Hindu landlords remain subservient and largely illiterate. Two American anthropologists sum up the situation thus:

The lower a Limbu is on the economic scale, the less likely he is to speak Nepali. At this level, Nepali is considered to be the language of the Hindu conqueror and thus to be avoided except when communication is otherwise impossible. Limbu women, unless they are wealthy, speak Nepali less fluently than men. In Terhathum and its environs, conversations among Limbu women were mostly in Limbu, while interactions with members of other castes and ethnic groups tended to be conducted in the crude hill Nepali that most women had to learn to conduct business in the bazaar and marketplace. The women of Terhathum thought of the hill women who spoke no Nepali as backward and less sophisticated than they...

When the Limbu of wealth and rank converse among themselves, their own language is likely to be sprinkled with Nepali sentences and phrases. High-ranking Limbu rapidly lose their native vocabulary, especially words describing cultivation and commerce. (Jones and Jones 1976:42).

It would seem that the wealthy Limbu, who had extricated himself from his subservient position, is more likely to be fluently bi-lingual than the poor tenant farmer, whose attachment to his mother-tongue is linked to a resentment of the immigrant Hindu landlords, who are still seen as intruders in Limbuwan. Clearly, some of the processes which have already reached an advanced stage among the Gurung and Magar of the west are also incipient among the Limbu speech-community. The Limbu are a less important constituent of the "Gurkha" regiments than their western counterparts, and have not migrated in very large numbers away from their homelands. As a consequence, their identification with their homeland is still strong, with a corresponding ethnic and linguistic loyalty. Because the Limbu communities of the east are more nearly intact than those of Tibeto-Burman speakers in the west, they are somewhat less susceptible to changes imposed from the "outside", that is, by the Government. More often, cultural and linguistic integration into the Nepalese nation-state comes as a voluntary response to conditions in which an individual may achieve economic or social advancement, as is the case with speakers of Thakali, a language we shall consider later in this article.

Gurung

The Gurung language can be most closely related with Magar, Tamang and Thakali,³⁴ and it is another Nepalese "hill-language" which can be closely identified with one particular ethnic group. Although the Gurung language is no longer spoken by all those who claim to be Gurungs, there can be very few members of other ethnic groups who are at all familiar with the language. Those who retain Gurung as their mother-tongue, and are prepared to declare the fact to representatives of a

central authority are recorded in the 1981 Census. The number of Gurungs in Nepal who no longer have a working knowledge of their ancestral language is not disclosed.

Traditionally, the Gurungs have inhabited the foothills of the Annapurna, Lamjung and Himal Chuli ranges of the Himalaya, i.e. the middle-hill regions of central Nepal, and their origins are extremely vague, although they quite probably came from the north, as their linguistic and racial features would suggest. The 1971 Census reveals that about three-quarters of the Gurung-speakers of Nepal still inhabit their homeland in the Gandaki *ancal*. Elsewhere, the migration of Gurungs eastwards has resulted in small populations of Gurung-speakers in eight districts outside the Gandaki *ancal*. Those resident in Kathmandu, Ilam, Sankhuwa Sabha, Taplejung and Rupendehi amount to less than 8,000. In Mustang and Manang districts, figures have probably been distorted by returns from speakers of Tibetan languages, who prefer to refer to themselves as "Gurung" rather than use the somewhat derogatory term of "Bhotia"³⁵. Resettlement in nearly-cleared Tarai lands in the Rapti Valley has resulted in the existence of a sizeable Gurung community in Chitwan district.

Donald Messerschmidt, an anthropologist whose study of the Gurungs is a standard work for ethnographers in Nepal, defines three dialects of Gurung. Western Gurung is spoken in the area centring on Kaski district, stretching as far east as the western edge of Lamjung district and Eastern Gurung centres on Lamjung district, stretching as far as western Gorkha district. The third dialect, Ghale, is a language as "radically more different from the true Gurung than either Tamang, Thakali or Manang...all of which are certainly regarded as separate languages" (Messerschmidt 1976:4). In his entertaining "portrait" of an old Gurung lady, the American aidworker Broughton Coburn hints at the differences between these dialects:

At home, Aama speaks Gurung, a Tibeto-Burman tribal language sounding similar to Tibetan, although they are mutually unintelligible. From one valley to the next and from village to village, the dialect varies enough for her to recognize the native village of strangers met on the trail simply from their accent and inflection. The Gurung that live a day's walk to the northwest of Simli and Danda speak a slightly different dialect. The Danda Gurung acknowledge their barbarisms as in fact the same language, but remark that to them it sounds as if they are all perpetually angry. (Cobon 1982:145)

The Gurungs and the Magars came into contact with the Nepali-speaking descendants of the Indo-Aryan Khas who were gaining political ascendancy in the western and central Himalaya at a relatively early stage. The ancestral Gurung kingdom of legend, in the north of Lamjung district, was ruled by a *ghale* king until sometime in the fifteenth

century, when it became a part of the powerful Lamjung kingdom under a "Nepali Rājā". Lamjung was one of the last petty kingdoms to be incorporated into the unified Nepalese state; it was formally annexed by Kathmandu in 1776. Messerschmidt notes the involvement of Gurungs in the cultural and political "mainstream" of Nepalese life prior to this annexation:

Appointment of Gurung and other tribal village headmen in the hills probably dates to an earlier time when the House of Gorkha was locally powerful only in the western hills of its origin. (Messerschmidt 1976:18).

The degree of linguistic and cultural Sanskritisation which has occurred among the Gurungs would seem to bear this out. As early as 1833, Hodgson noted,

The Gurungs are less generally and more recently redeemed from Lamaism and primitive impurity than the Magars. But, though Gurungs and Magars still maintain their own vernacular tongues, Tartar faces and careless manners, yet, what with military service for several generations, under the predominant Khas, and what with the commerce of Khas males with their females, they have acquired the Khas language, though not to the oblivion of their own.... As they have, however, with such grace as they could muster, submitted themselves to the ceremonial law of purity, and to Brahman supremacy, they have been adopted as Hindus. (Hodgson 1833:219-220).

This long-term interaction with the Nepali-speaking population has resulted in an increasing level of bi-lingualism with the national language, and the incorporation of much of its vocabulary into spoken Gurung. These processes, as elsewhere, are closely related to the incorporation of a tribal culture and shamanist/Buddhist religion into the more prevalent Hindu culture of Nepal. Messerschmidt notes,

Buddhism among the Gurungs in general is waning in the face of inroads by Hinduism; it is still strong, however, among the more northerly villages which are isolated from the mainstream of Nepali life and where traditionalism is valued more highly.

(Messerschmidt 1976:6)

Gurungs who have left their native hills tend to adopt another language within only two or three generations, unless they are living among a large Gurung community. One meets hillsmen who claim to be Gurung in and around the Kathmandu Valley, and also further to the east, but very few of them now speak their mother-tongue. Thus the Nepal Censuses give no indication of the number of ethnic Gurungs who are

resident outside their linguistic "homeland". Grierson notes,

...they are gradually being Hinduized, and there is, at the same time, a distinct tendency among them to abandon their old dialect in favour of Khas³⁶. Thus 2721 out of a total of 4502 Gurungs in Sikkim re-turned their language as Khas at the last census.

(Grierson 1909:182)

Grierson included a sample of Gurung in his *Linguistic Survey*, which he had obtained from the "Nepal Durbar". Although there is no way of judging the extent to which it was a true representation of the spoken Gurung of the time, it is interesting to note that it does contain a large quantity of Nepali vocabulary³⁷.

This may well represent the speech of a Gurung resident in Kathmandu who was familiar with Nepali, but it probably gives a fair impression of the kind of linguistic admixture which is spoken by the modern Hindu Gurung.

The Gurung language possesses little or no written literature, nor does it have its own script. Messerschmidt tells of a "pseudohistory" of the Gurungs, of which several hand-written texts are said to exist in various villages³⁸. A Nepali version of a Gurung "*Vamśāvalī*" has been published³⁹.

The Gurungs and their language have undergone a long process of acculturation into the Nepalese "mainstream" which began at a very early stage, by virtue of the geographical location of most of their number, and because of their renowned military prowess. Consequently, Gurungs play a more active role in governmental bureaucracy than the members of any other Tibeto-Burman ethnic group besides the Newars. There are also a very large number of Gurungs in the Nepalese army, and in the "Gurkha" regiments of the Indian and British armies, and army pensions play an important part in the economy of the central Nepalese hills. Despite these factors, there has been no assertion of the Gurung cultural and linguistic identity which can be even nearly equated with the vocalisation of loyalty to other languages, such as Newari. Lacking a literature, or even a distinct written form, it seems most likely that the Gurung language will continue to co-exist with the *lingua-franca*, Nepali, in the shape of ever increasing bilingualism, and will probably become progressively more "Nepali-ised" over the generations.

Thakali

Thakali is spoken by a small and scattered community who have traditionally inhabited the middle section of the Kali Gandaki valley in Mustang district of Dhaulagiri zone⁴⁰. In the 1971 Census, Thakali was subsumed into the "local district languages" category, but some 5,300 speakers were recorded by the Census of 1981. Ethnically and linguistically, the Thakalis are more closely related to their southern neighbours, the Gurung and Tamang, than to the Tibetan peoples of the northern

reaches of the Kali Gandaki. Their language has 65% cognates with Gurung and 57% with Tamang, but only 28% with Tibetan⁴¹. Traditionally, however, Thakali culture was quite closely allied to that of Tibet, in terms of religious affiliation and even dress and diet. The Thakalis became prosperous by virtue of their advantageous position on an important trans-Himalayan trade-route; they developed great commercial acumen and astute political instincts. Their changing fortunes in the face of the trade restrictions imposed by the Chinese after their annexation of Tibet have been the subject of several anthropological studies⁴². These changes have had profound cultural and linguistic implications; since the 1950s, the acculturation of the Thakalis into the broader spectrum of Nepalese life has occurred with unusual rapidity, due to severed links with the northern culture area.

Since the 1950s, the Thakalis have been increasingly anxious to be considered a part of Nepalese Hindu society. They have striven, with some success, to identify their ethnic origins in the Jumla region of western Nepal,⁴³ and they have even changed their clan names from Tibetan-sounding titles such as Chyoki, Salki, Dhimzen and Bhurki to more "Sanskritic" names such as Gauchan, Tulachan, Sherchan and Bhattachan⁴⁴. Cultural change is also evident in the towns and villages of the Thak Khola; Tibetan dress is no longer worn and the old *lha khang*, Buddhist temples, in towns such as Tukuche and Marpha are in a sorry state of disrepair. The fate of the Thakali language is a predictable corollary to this. Many Thakalis have left their "homeland" to conduct their businesses in the commercial centres of Nepal. Others spend only a few months of each year in the Thak Khola, and the villages seem deserted in winter, as a consequence. Bilingualism with Nepali is therefore very widespread, especially among the young. The Japanese anthropologist Shigeru Iijima reports that Thakalis of Tukuche did not generally converse in their mother tongue, even in 1958, but used the national language in their informal conversations. He states that most teenagers were actually more fluent in Nepali than in Thakali, and that the latter language had become more of a "secret code" which was used among merchants when they were dealing with other ethnic groups⁴⁵.

Hastened by the dislocation of trade and culture, the "Nepalisation" process is clearly discernible among the Thakalis, and proceeds with unusual rapidity. Their circumstances are by no means general to the speakers of other Tibeto-Burman languages; in the Thak Khola, there is much to be gained in economic and political terms from linguistic and cultural absorption into "Greater Nepal".

In the preceding pages, the current status of four Tibeto-Burman languages native to Nepal has been described in some detail. In terms of increasing bilingualism and "Nepalisation", Gurung is quite typical of the "western" members of the group. Much of what has been said about Gurung would also apply to the other Tibeto-Burman languages of the western hills, such as Magar, and equally to Tamang, the most widely-spoken Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal. Similarly, the processes which are at work among the Limbu-speaking community have close parallels among speakers of Rai and Sunwar in the eastern hills. Thakali and

Newari are exceptions to the generalisations which might be made about the status of these languages; Newari, because of its literary tradition, is more resistant to the processes of Nepalisation, and the case of Thakali is a consequence of changes which are confined to the Thak Khola region, although it does have some parallels among the Sherpas of Solu Khumbu.

Before concluding these observations it might be useful briefly to examine the status of the languages which can be identified more closely with Tibetan. These are classed together by compilers of the Nepal Censuses as "Bhote Sherpa". Sherpa is the language spoken by the Sherpas of upper Solu Khumbu; it has 51% cognates with Tibetan but is usually regarded as a language in its own right. There are approximately 20,000 speakers of Sherpa in Nepal; the 1971 Census recorded a figure of 18,400 speakers of "Bhote Sherpa" in the Solu Khumbu district, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics estimated that 14,000 speakers of Sherpa inhabited the same region⁴⁶. The 1981 Census, however, recorded a total of speakers of "Bhote Sherpa" for the whole of Nepal; assuming that most true Sherpas live in Solu Khumbu, it is evident that more of these languages were actually "Bhote", Tibetan, than Sherpa.

In many of the more remote districts of northern Nepal, the Tibetan language and its dialects continue to function as a *lingua franca*. In Mustang district, the north of Dolpa (Dolpo) district, in the Mugu and Humla districts of the Karnali zone where it borders on Tibet, and in most northern regions, knowledge of Nepali is still quite limited. Such sparsely-populated areas maintain a Tibetan culture which remains distinct from that of "Greater Nepal".

Conclusion

This article has described the great linguistic diversity which has existed for centuries throughout highland Nepal, but is now beginning to diminish. Linguistic diversity gave rise to the need for a shared "link-language" which would enable speakers of mutually incomprehensible languages to communicate with one another. The increasing prevalence of Nepali, both as a mother-tongue and a second language, has affected the role and status of different languages in a variety of ways.

Nepali is much stronger in the hills of Nepal than it is in the Tarai. Languages such as Maithili and Hindi will not easily be displaced in lowland Nepal, but among most Tibeto-Burman-speaking communities Nepali is rapidly displacing mother-tongues and influencing the character of other spoken languages. Yet such a generalisation does require qualification. In the eastern hills, there is still some resistance to the acquisition of Nepali from Rais and Limbus, and the determination of a number of educated Newars to revive and maintain their own distinctive culture has assured Newari literature of a future.

The preceding pages do not contain a comprehensive survey or an in-depth socio-linguistic study. Rather, I have attempted to identify the major processes of change in the context of steadily decreasing

linguistic diversity. In conclusion, it could be stated that these changes, although essentially uniform in effect, are taking place to different extents in different speech-communities. End-points vary: in some contexts, Nepali may eventually displace mother-tongues entirely, in others it will remain an essential second language for the foreseeable future.

NOTES

1. This article is a condensed version of the first section of my Ph.D. thesis (Hutt 1984). The remainder of the thesis is to be published by Sterling Publishers (New Delhi) in conjunction with the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in late 1987 under the title *Nepali: A National Language and its Literature*.
2. According to the 1981 Census, the total population of Nepal is 15,022,839. (Regmi 1984).
3. Sanskritisation is an anthropological concept first described by Srinivas (1962); basically, it describes the incorporation of non-Hindu groups into the Hindu caste-hierarchy. Bista (1982) seems to have been the first to have used the term "Nepalization" in anthropological literature.
4. The classification of Nepalese Tibeto-Burman languages into groups labelled "pronominalized" and "non-pronominalized" was first set out by Hodgson (1874) and was later adopted by Grierson (1909). Although more detailed classifications have been devised, these two rather vague categories are still acknowledged by most writers on this subject.
5. Not all of the people now known as Nevār share a common origin; the ethnic composition of Newar societies is less homogenous than is often assumed. (Doherty 1978).
6. Malla 1982/3
7. Brian Houghton Hodgson was the British Resident in Kathmandu from 1832 to 1843. His papers were pioneering studies in the geography, ethnology, history and religion of Nepal, and most were originally published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* between 1840 and 1860.
8. Frank 1974.
9. Subba 1976.
10. paharī, an obscure Tibeto-Burman language, should not be confused with pahārī, which is one of the names given to Nepali by Tarai peoples.

11. Bayu has also been referred to as Hayu and Vayu. It is, or was, spoken by a minor tribe inhabiting an area between the Koshi and Sunkoshi rivers (Hodgson 1858).
12. These terms are borrowed from Einar Haugen (1966:928).
13. Hutt 1984.
14. Nepal only began to compile censuses after 1950, although the Rana government is said to have carried out "head-counts" in 1911, 1921, 1931 and 1941. These gave no data on language. (Central Bureau of Statistics, HMG Nepal, 1977:22).
15. Gaige's study (1975) includes a thorough documentation of language controversies in the Tarai during the 1960s.
16. Regmi 1984.
17. Malla 1978: 6-7, 45.
18. This policy is outlined in National Education Planning Commission 1956:104.
19. Of particular interest in this context are the findings of a CNAS-sponsored "pilot project" on bilingualism in the Tarai. (Subba 1974).
20. The most well-known classifications are those posited by Shafer (1955, 1966-73), Grierson (1909), Benedict (1972) and Glover (1970).
21. Although Limbu and Lepcha both possess their own script, their literature is obscure and is rarely published in Nepal. Some Lepcha books are available in Sikkim.
22. Hodgson (1857) was the first to coin the term "broken tribes."
23. Grierson 1909: 171-181 and 214-226.
24. "Where they have not adopted Nepali as bilinguals they have no common identity except for their language." (Malla 1979:142).
25. Nepali 1965:28-29. Doherty (1978:435) states: "The assertion sometimes made that the Newars are connected with the Nayars of South India has no supporting evidence."
26. The earliest known inscription in Newari dates from 1173 A.D. (Malla 1982:2).
27. Lienhard 1984:3.
28. Malla 1982:75.

- 20 CNAS Journal, Vol. 14, No. 1 (December 1986)
29. The celebrated Newari epic *Sugatasaurabha* was written in jail during the 1940s by Cittadhar "Hṛdaya." (Lienhard 1984:4).
30. Malla 1978:73-74, 97-98.
31. Devkoṭā 1967:578-644.
32. Malla 1982:1-4.
33. See also Sprigg 1959.
34. Glover 1970.
35. Integration into the Hindu society now paramount in Nepal brings social, economic and political advantages, and so the Gurung do not always wish to be identified too closely with the Bhotia, who are usually Buddhist and generally Tibetan. Many of the Tibetan-speakers of Manang and Mustang now describe themselves as "Gurung". (Personal enquiries, Mustang district, 1982).
36. i.e. Nepali.
37. Grierson 1909:187-188.
38. Messerschmidt 1976:9.
39. Naraharināth and Gurung 1963.
40. i.e. the Thāk Kholā.
41. Glover 1970.
42. Such as Fürer-Haimendorf 1975 and Iijima 1963.
43. Iijima 1977:84.
44. Bista 1972:90.
45. Iijima 1982:25.
46. Gordon 1969.

REFERENCES

- Benedict, Paul K., 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur, 1972. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- _____, 1982. "The Process of Nepalization". In Bista and others (eds) *Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, pp.1-20.
- Central Bureau of Statistics, 1958. *Census of Population: Nepal 1952/4*. Kathmandu: HMG of Nepal.
- _____, 1966. *Results of the National Population Census, 1961*. Kathmandu: HMG of Nepal.
- _____, 1975. *Population Census - 1971*. Kathmandu: HMG of Nepal.
- _____, 1977. *The Analysis of the Population Statistics of Nepal*. Kathmandu: HMG of Nepal.
- Coburn, Broughton, 1982. *Nepali Aama: Portrait of a Nepali Hill Woman*. Santa Barbara/California: Ross-Erikson Inc.
- Dahal, Ballabh Mani and Subhadra Subba, 1981. "Language Policies and Indigchous Languages of Nepal". Unpublished paper.
- Devkota, Grisma Bahadur, 1967. *Nepālko Chāpākhānā ra Patra-Patrikāko Itihās*. Kathmandu: Kishab Prasad Lamsal. (In Nepali).
- Doherty, Victor, S., 1978. "Notes on the Origins of Newars of the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal". In James F. Fisher (ed.) *Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface*. Paris and the Hague: Mouton Publishers, pp. 433-445.
- Paris and the Hague: Mouton Publishers, pp.
- Fisher, James F. (ed.), 1978. *Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface*. Paris and the Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Frank, Walter, 1974. "Attempt at a Ethno-Demography of Middle Nepal". In Furer-Haimendorf (ed.) *The Anthropology of Nepal*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Friedman, Lindsay (ed.), 1976. *Seminar Papers in Linguistics*. Kirtipur: INAS/TU.
- Fürer-Haimendorf, Chrisloph Von (ed.), 1974. *The Anthropology of Nepal*. Wasminster: Aris and Phillips.

Fürer-Haimendorf, Chrisloph Von (ed.), 1975. *Himalayan Traders*. London: John Murray.

Glover, Warren W., 1970. "Cognate Counts via the Swadish List in some Tibeto-Burman Languages of Nepal". *Occasional Papers of the Wolfenden Society on Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*, Vol. 3, Part 2.

Gordon, Kent H., 1969. *Sherpa Phonemic Summary*. Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Gorkhāpatra, 1957. "Nepalmā Pracalit Bhāsā ra Upābhāsāharuprati Nepāl Sarkārko Sāmānya Nīti". Year 57, No. 79. Kārtik 2014 V.S. (In Nepali).

Grierson, G.A., 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. 3. Tibeto-Burman Family. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publications Branch.

Haugen, Einar, 1966. "Dialect, Language, Nation". *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 68.

Hitchcock, John T., 1978. "An Additional Perspective on the Nepali Caste System". In James F. Fisher (ed.) *Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers, pp. 111-120.

Hodgson, Brian Houghton, 1833. "Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepal". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (JASB)*, 17.

_____, 1857. "Comparative Vocabulary of the Broken Tribes of Nepal". *JASB*, 26.

_____, 1858. "On the Voyu Tribe of the Central Himalaya". *JASB*, 27:5.

_____, 1874. *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*. London: Trubnor and Co.

Hutt, Michael J., 1984. "Nepali: The Emergence of a National Language". Ph.D. Thesis. University of London.

_____, 1984. "Neon Lights and Vedic Caves: European Influences on the Nepali Writers". *South Asia Research*, 4:2.

_____, 1985. *Catalogue of Nepali Printed Books in the India Office Library*. London: British Library.

Iijima, Shigeru, 1960. "The Thakali, a Central Himalayan Tribe". *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, 24:3.

_____, 1963. "Hinduization of a Himalayan Tribe in Nepal". *Kroeber Anthropological Society Paper*, No. 29.

- Iijima, Shigeru, (ed.) 1977. *Changing Aspects of Modern Nepal*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Jones, Rex L. and Shirley Kurz Jones, 1976. *The Himalayan Woman*. Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co.
- Kansakar, Tej R., 1981. "Newari Language and Linguistics: Conspectus". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 8:2.
- Lévi, Sylvain, 1905. *Le Nepal: Etude Historique d'un Royaume Hindou*. Paris: Enest Leroux.
- Lieharel, Siegfried, 1984. *Songs of Nepal: An Anthology of Nevār Folksongs and Hymns*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Malla, Kamal Prakash, 1978. *Nepāl Bhāsāyā Dhvāhā Sēphūyā Dhalah*. (Bibliography of Nepal Bhasha). Kathmandu: Laytā Dabū. (In Newari).
- _____, 1979. *The Road to Nowhere*. Kathmandu: Sajha Prakashan.
- _____, 1982. *Classical Newari Literature: A Sketch*. Kathmandu: Educational Enterprises PVT, Ltd.
- _____, 1983. "River Names of the Nepal Valley: A Study in Cultural Annexation". *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 10: 1&2.
- Messerschmidt, Donald A., 1976. *The Gurungs of Nepal*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.
- Naraharinath, Yogi and Krishna Bahadur Gurung, 1963. *Srīgurung Magar Vamśāvalī*. Nepal: Sant Bahadur Gurung. (In Nepali).
- National Education Planning Commission, 1956. *Education in Nepal*. Kathmandu: HMG of Nepal.
- Nepali, Gopal Singh, 1965. *The Newars*. Bombay: United Asia Publications.
- Northey, W. Brook and C.J. Morris, 1928. *The Gurkhas*. London: The Bodley Head.
- Regmi, M.C., 1984. *Nepal Press Digest*, 27:45 and 28:14.
- Shafer, Robert, 1955. "Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages". *Ward*, No. 11.
- _____, 1966. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Sprigg, R.K., 1959. "Limbu Books in the Kiranti Script". *Akten des Vicrundzwanzigsten Internationalen Orientalisten Kongresses, Munchen.*

Srinivas, M.N., 1962. *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays.* Bombay and New York: Asia Publishing House.

Subba, Subhadra, 1974. *Bilingualism in Nepal Tarai.* Report on Pilot Project No. 1. Kirtipur: INAS/TU.

_____, 1976. "The Languages of Nepal". In Friedman (ed.) *Seminar Papers in Linguistics.* Kirtipur: INAS/TU, pp. 139-150.

Turner, Ralph Lilley, 1928. "The People and their Languages". In Northey and Morris (eds.) *The Gurkhas.* London: The Bodley Head.

Sita and the Goddess: A Case Study of a Woman Healer in Nepal¹

Linda M. Dougherty
Washington State University

Mother Goddess Possession

The phenomena of Mother Goddess possession is not exclusive to Nepal. Kathleen Erndl's paper on the Cult of Serenvali (also known as Durga, Amba, Mata (mother) or Bhagvati) identifies a similar phenomena in Punjab state, north India. The Goddess usually possesses a female and being possessed is seen as a grace not an affliction. Erndl's interpretation is that the Goddess "plays" in people and speaks through them as means of helping her devotees and showing them her power (*sakti*).

I was told by several informants that in Nepal this tradition has been in practice for the last 25 years. One woman told me she has been regularly possessed by the Goddess for the last 18 years. This tradition may have once been exclusive to Sita's ethnic group (Newars) but appears to have become manifest in other groups in the last ten years. In the case of Sita, many of Ma's devotees are Parbatiya (Nepali-speaking peoples), mostly of Brahman-Chettri caste. Mā said she no longer speaks Newari because most of the people who come to her speak Nepali.

• In the area around Dilli Bazaar there were at least four women who claimed possession by the Goddess. All of the women are within a ten minute walk from each other. According to Mā (Sita possessed by Mā), Mā possesses only ten persons in the Kathmandu Valley. Many people claim possession but she said most of them are fakes. Mā also told us that one of the women in the Dilli Bazaar area is actually a witch (*bokshi*). She said the woman makes people ill and then cures them in order to receive a fee.

The Goddess Ajima (Mā)

Ajima is one of the many forms of the Mother Goddess and is among the lower orders of the female pantheon. She is popularly known as the goddess of smallpox and her name is of Newari origin. Ajima literally means grandmother or old mother. Generally, she is also known as *Harati* ('reliever') among Buddhists and *Sitala* (the cool one) among Hindus. If left hungry she will harass children but if appeased with food offerings she protects and alleviates disease and trouble (Anderson 1977:78). She is invoked against disease and has a protective role of mother. Even today when a child is vaccinated against disease (such as smallpox) offerings are taken to Ajima by families from all different backgrounds.

1. This paper was written while participating in the University of Wisconsin's College Year in Nepal Programme. This Programme is affiliated with the Anthropology-Sociology Department of Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, Nepal.

A most popular form of worship can be seen at the Harati temple at the Swayambu temple complex in Kathmandu. Each morning there are a large number of worshippers who come to that temple. The Harati figure inside the temple is seated with five children who are said to represent the five hundred children Harati was believed to have once stolen (Pradhan 1984:29). According to Pradhan, the woman figure inside the temple is said to be that of a *yakshini* (servant of the god of wealth). The following story relates how she acquired the name Harati and tells of the incident of the stolen children:

A *yakshini* had stolen 500 children and no one could catch her. The King approached the Lord Buddha for help. The Lord hid one of the *yakshini*'s most promising children. Distressed over the loss the *yakshini* also turned to Lord Buddha for help. The Lord said "why should you so seriously bewail the loss of one child when you have in your holdings no less than five hundred?" To this the *yakshini* thus replied "No my Lord, I was out of patience with the loss because that is the child whom I love most". "While only one out of the five hundred is lost" said the Lord, "you are so much afflicted, how very heart rendering the suffering of parents have become since you kidnapped their children". The remark of the Lord made a deep impression upon her. She was on the very spot mentally changed. Remorsefully, she begged pardon. The Lord then told her to refrain from her former misdeeds and take care of children. She henceforth, became a saviour of children. It was to symbolize this incident that the *yakshini* came to be worshipped as Hariti Mai the motherly goddess who relieves children of their pains. This name "*Hariti*" (reliever) is derived from the word "*Harati*" (relieves). Because she is supposed to relieve children of their child diseases she may have been named so (Pradhan 1984:30).

I was told a similar story by two different informants.

Healing and Concepts of Illness

"Faith-healer", is defined as "one who attempts to effect faith cures (a cure of an ailment held to be accomplished through religious faith)" (American Heritage Dictionary 1981). This definition implies that the faith-healer can only heal if the person with the ailment has "faith". Faith is required to be cured. This is not, however, an accurate description of Sita as Mā. Mā does not claim to cure by faith but actively through the power of the Goddess. She is not called a faith-healer by the people who come to her temple but rather they address her as Mā. Faith-healer is an outsider's term. At the temple I heard Nepali people refer to her as *janne manche* (one who knows) and

deuta aune manche (person to whom the god comes), but never by any term denoting "faith-healer" as we know it.

I would suggest that the inapplicability of "faith-healer" to Mā reflects an important cultural difference between Nepalese Newars and Western peoples. In the West faith-healing suggests the importance of each individual's inner convictions. The stress is on individual responsibility for one's own therapy. Similarly, Talcott Parsons (1972: 107-127) has suggested that American ideas about illness and curing in general reflect this view, since here therapy is seen as an individual "job to be done". Among Mā's devotees, by contrast, the individual is more passive; inner "faith" is not an issue and the stress is rather on the importance of obedience to Mā, worshipping Mā properly and following her dictates strictly.

Besides faith-healer there are other problematic terms. "Spirit possession" is an ambiguous term and has conceptual problems (Reinhard 1976). Scholars have defined spirit possession as:

an altered state of consciousness on the part of the individual as the result of what is believed to be the incorporation of an alien form with vital and spiritual attributes, e.g. the spirit of a human form such as a witch, sorcerer, god, goddess or other religious divinity (Jones 1976:1).

This definition reflects how scholars identify spirit possession, not how local people do so. Most important, Sita and her devotees distinguish between different kinds of "alien forms". For example, being possessed by a witch would be considered bad whereas possession by a goddess would be considered a blessing.

Even the common anthropological term "shamanism" is problematic. Reinhard's (1976) definition of shamanism emphasizes *the will* of the shaman in entering a "non-ordinary psychic state"; but Mā as described later, is subject to involuntary possession.

Practically, how does a person recognize when someone is possessed? One Nepali girl, after seeing Mā for the first time said Sita was not possessed because she was talking in a normal voice. Other informants told me that shaking is a sign of possession. Thus shaking and speaking in an abnormal voice may be some of the markers that make possession real for the local people.

After only one visit to a Nepali healer a Westerner is quickly struck by the different concepts of illness that emerge. For example, a woman's child is becoming sickly thin. Mā tells her it is due to *moch*, a woman whose own child has died had touched the baby. The sickness had been passed from one family to another. Mā prescribed 5 days of "blowing" (*phuknu*) which consists of Mā blowing on the child's head.

Many Nepali people distinguish between illness caused by physical factors and that caused by supernatural phenomena. Mā said that she could only cure illness caused by something supernatural (e.g. witchcraft, *moch*). She said that the flu and cold are physical illnesses.

"Blowing" (*phuknu*) is often prescribed in treatment and is done even when there is no illness. Here, the healer simply blows in short, directed puffs on the patient. Each morning after Mā gives *tika* (mark placed on the forehead at the conclusion of worship) to Sita's husband and children, she sometime does "blowing" on them. Mā said that this was to keep away evil and illness. Another common treatment is "sweeping" (*jharnu*) and this is done with a broom made of wild grass. Mā sweeps the broom over the area of pain or just over the devotee's head.

On many occasions Mā diagnosed that a witch (*bokshi*) had caused the problem or illness. A witch, as defined by Mā, is also a worshipper of the Goddess. Witches initially worship her so that they can benefit the welfare of people, but when they receive the power of the Goddess they cease to act according to their promise. They perform "reverse magic" with what they learn, for instance they utter *kumantra* (bad mantra) instead of good mantra.

I was curious whether modern medical facilities in the area have any effect on people coming to Mā. From my brief study I conclude it has little. One Nepali couple had come all the way from Charikot (about a seven hour bus ride from Kathmandu) where they have their own modern hospital, just to see Mā. Another informant had said that for the people that come to these traditional healers it does not matter if there are modern medical facilities in the area or not. This lack of conflict between the two medical systems is in part accountable to these people's own distinction between "supernatural" and "physical" illnesses. Mā and her devotees see Mā as an expert in the former, whereas doctors are for the latter. This distinction closely parallels Foster and Anderson's (1978) distinction between "naturalistic" and "personalistic" medical systems. I found the two medical systems to be complementary to one another rather than in conflict.

The Healer

Sita is a Newar from Kathmandu. She has six brothers and is the oldest sibling. Sita is married and has three sons and one daughter. She is forty-one years old and has had fourteen years of education. Her family is of the Pradhan caste, one of the highest castes among Newars (Singh 1969:155).

Sita has been regularly possessed by the Goddess for the last two years. According to Sita over two years ago she did not know how to perform *puja* (ritual worship). Neither Sita nor her husband used to do worship. She said her husband used to say things like "why does one worship, what good does it do?" and become angry. When the children would become ill Sita's mother would say "why don't you do as our tradition (of Newars) says and take them to 'one who knows' (*janne*

manche). " Even though Sita and her husband are Newars they did not participate in that tradition.

About six years earlier Sita had become ill. At the time of building their current house she fainted and was bleeding (we never found out what kind of bleeding). Sita consulted doctors but none of them could cure her. In time she was confined to her bed. Finally, Sita was going to get help from the doctors in Delhi. Three days before she was to go to Delhi, Mā (the Goddess Ajima) came to her in the night. That night Mā appeared to her and possessed her for the first time. Before possessing her Mā told her the rules and regulations of doing worship (*puja*).

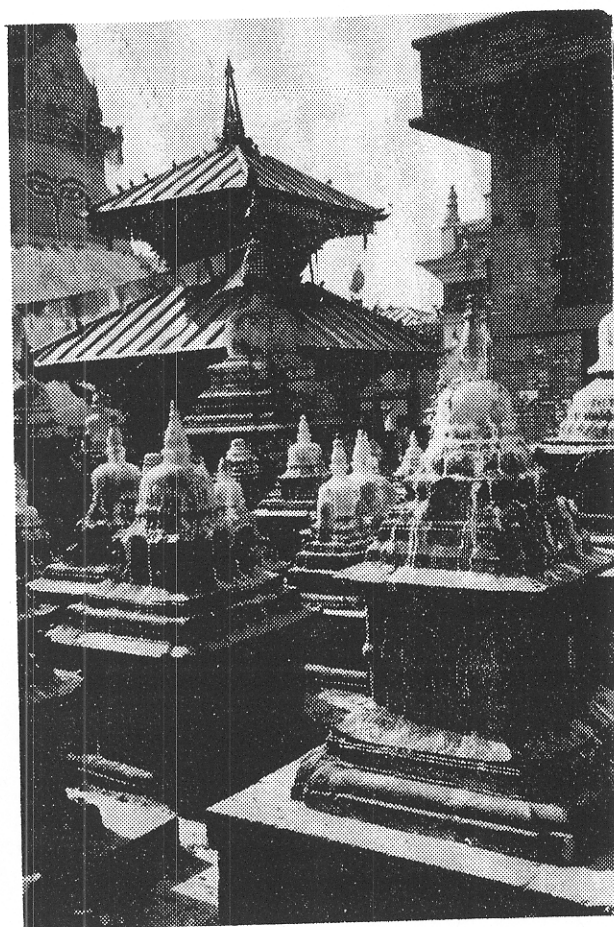
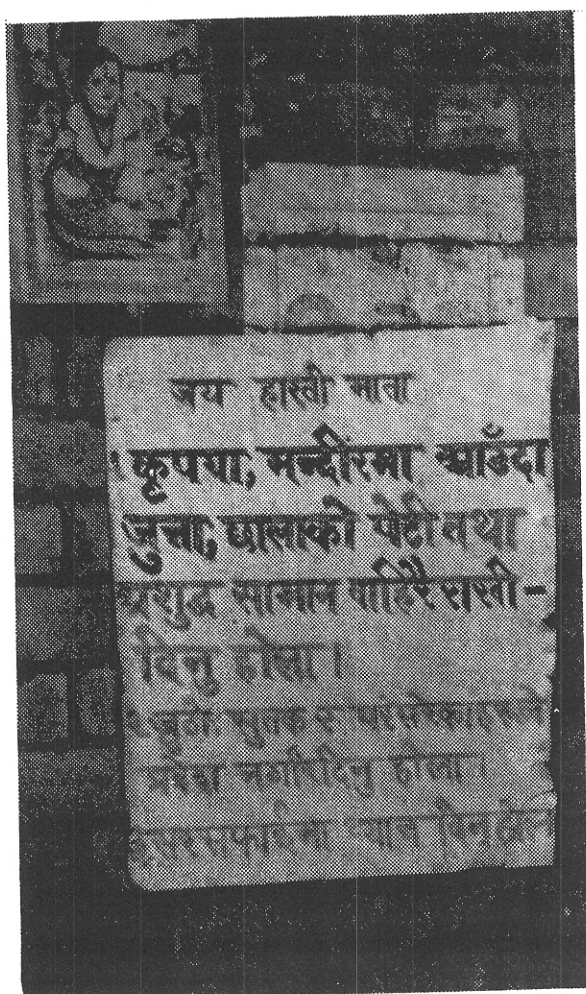
Sita told us that the cause of her illness had been four people. She did not specifically identify them but told us that they had also been interested in the land she had purchased before she became ill. Daily they had also come to inquire about her condition. After Mā had come to her they did not visit anymore. Sita said that after these four people could harm her no longer, they caused her son to be ill. They made him crazy for one month but he was cured by Mā. Since then there has been no major illnesses in the family except for common colds and flu.

On the night of Sita's first possession the Goddess told her to go to her (Mā's) temple at Swayambhu the following week. At the temple Sita did worship to the Goddess and was possessed. Mā took a vase (*kalas*) from the temple and brought it to Sita's home. It is this vase that is in the temple at Sita's house. The vase is a representation of the Goddess and is worshipped as such. The Goddess had also told her that she must now help people who are suffering.

Since the coming of the Goddess, Sita's life has changed considerably. Everyday of the week she is possessed by the Goddess and people come to see her. Each day before possession Sita worships the Goddess (as represented by the vase). Besides the daily worship and possession Sita must also cook the family meals. She is the only one allowed to cook in her house and can't accept food in another person's house except her mother's.

In Sita's house there is a heightened awareness of cleanliness, not just in the physical sense but also concerning ritual purity. Certain restrictions are put on her house and the temple inside. These restrictions concerning ritual and physical purity are written (in Nepali) outside the door, as seen in the photo below. For example, a person of a family in which a member has died within the last 13 days is considered ritually impure. People in this state are not allowed in the temple. Another example of ritual impurity is menstruating women. Sita said that if a person in a state of impurity entered the temple she would be immediately possessed by the Goddess. Sita said that she could become possessed no matter where she was and this was verbalized as an "unwanted possession". Sita said that she was afraid of this happening. "Unwanted possession" could also take place if a person in a state of ritual impurity touched her. Sita has lessened the chances of this happening by spending most of her time at home and not going into crowds.

Harati Temple at Swayambhu



Outside Harati/Ajima Temple in Dilli Bazaar

"Victory with Harati"

- 1) Impure things like leather and belts are requested to be put outside the temple.
- 2) People who are mourning or have been polluted by the death of a family member or by a new born baby -- and women having period are requested not to enter the temple.
- 3) Please pay attention to keep the area clean.

The Daily Process

I have divided the days events into three parts: *puja garnu* (to do worship), *deuta aune* (coming of goddess) and treatment of devotees.

Inside the temple the vase is in a red box hanging on the wall. Below the box is a red chair Sita sits on while possessed by the Goddess. On the walls there are various pictures of the Goddess and straw mats are placed on the floor for devotees.

1) *Puja garnu* (to do worship)

Every morning Sita does worship to the Goddess. Before Sita enters the temple she always washes her hair and body. While bathing she begins saying the prayer of the Goddess (*Bhagvati Stotra*). She then enters the temple and does worship to the Goddess, who is represented by the vase. Sita offers various items to the Goddess like consecrated rice (*ascheta*), red powder (*abir*) and some flowers. The worship lasts about twenty minutes and the devotees recognize Sita's actions as a prelude to possession by the Goddess. When the worship is finished Sita sits on the red chair. She is possessed in the morning and stays seated in the sitting place of the Goddess (*ashan*) until the afternoon.

2) *Deuta aune* (goddess coming)

This is the time when Sita begins to shake and is possessed by the Goddess. After this stage Sita is now *Mā*, the Goddess. Now she is seated crosslegged and her hands are palms together in front of her chest. Her hands begin shaking up and down along with her knees. After this her hands begin moving back and forth along with her head. *Mā* repeats this several times and is given auspicious foodstuff (*sagun*) by Sita's husband or son. Sita's family will now bow down to the feet of *Mā* and receive a blessing.

3) Treatment

During this time *Mā* might diagnose illness, give advice or foretell the future for her devotees. Typically, a devotee will sit crosslegged before *Mā*. A devotee will usually offer *Mā* something like a few rupees or some rice. Although it is not obvious to new comer like myself, everyone seemed to know who's turn it was. If *Mā* has not already asked the devotees how they are, she will do so at this time. *Mā* will often ask people throughout the temple how they are while administering treatment on another devotee. Many of the devotees were longtime visitors to the temple and had come previously to *Mā* with other problems.

The Devotees of Mā (Ajima)

The devotees of *Mā* are those people who come to her for help. *Mā* refers to these people as *bhakta*, which means devotee. The devotees of *Mā* worship the Goddess in the form of a human being. The Goddess possesses Sita and through her is able to have direct contact with her

devotees. Devotees come to Mā to be cured of illness, to have their fortunes foretold and to leave their personal problems with the Goddess.

In the short time that Kabita and I observed the interaction between Mā and her devotees we found that people had many different reasons for coming to Mā. There were both men and women and also people from many different caste and ethnic groups including Brahman, Chetri, Magar, Sherpa and Newar. We also saw people who from their clothing appeared very wealthy and others who looked extremely poor.

Case Studies of Devotees

The following are cases of Mā's interactions with her devotees (real names of devotees are not used). Here I describe six of the eighteen cases we recorded.

Case No. 1

Tenzing, a Sherpa had come to Mā for reading of rice (*jokanna*, reading a pattern of rice grains to diagnose misfortune). He complained that his body was in pain. Mā's diagnosis was that his clan deity (*kul devta*) was not happy. The prescribed treatment was *no grahasanti* (no=nine, *grahasanti*=pacifying bad effect of a planet). He was supposed to pacify the bad effect of nine planets. This could be done by performing specific worship to the Goddess.

Case No. 2

Hanuman appeared to be at least 55 years or older. His complaint was that his son had been beating him. Mā told him that it was not actually his son who was beating him but a witch who was causing his son to do it. Mā told him not to blame his son and he agreed and left.

Hanuman had obviously been disturbed that his own son was beating him. In Nepal a person reaching old age is to be respected by their children, yet Hanuman was being beaten by his own son. The guilt had been taken from the son and placed on an exterior force, the witch. It could be said that such a diagnosis had served the social function of minimizing tension in the family. How could Hanuman resolve the fact that his own son was beating him?

According to Geertz a key problem of religion is that "the problem of suffering is paradoxically not how to avoid suffering but how to suffer, how to make of physical pain, personal loss, worldly defeat or the helpless contemplation of others agony something bearable, supportable something we say sufferable" (Geertz 1965:162). In a sense Mā had made Hanuman's situation more sufferable.

Case No. 3

Two women had come about a third woman named Lakshmi. The women said that Lakshmi had not been behaving well with her husband, child and

other people. Mā diagnosed that a witch had collected some of Lakshmi's clothes and hair. The prescribed treatment was for Lakshmi to receive Mā's tika (mark placed on forehead as blessing) for three days in a row.

Case No. 4

Sushila had wanted to know if she would bear a son. She already had three daughters and she wanted a male child. Mā told her that she would give birth to one more daughter and then she would bear a son.

Case No. 5

A man and a woman, who from their clothing looked much richer than most of the devotees, had come about their father who drank excessively. Mā made no diagnosis but gave them some salt to feed to their father. She also did "blowing" and "sweeping" on a bottle of alcohol the father was to drink.

Case No. 6

One woman had come because her daughter, Kamala, had flunked a high school exam. Kamala was acting strangely and locked herself in her room. Mā said that a witch had caused this by taking two hairs from the girl's head. Mā told the woman to bring Kamala to her and she would help her.

Out of the eighteen cases we recorded eleven could be classified as domestic problems (i.e. problems concerned with family and relatives like Hanuman, who's son was beating him). From the perspective of an outsider I saw the problem as a domestic one but the diagnosis was supernatural. Often it was diagnosed that a witch was the cause of illness or problem. Mā told us that witches are a main cause of illness. This is a key point in the different way problems and illness are viewed. A Western psychologist viewing this as a domestic problem *might* have told Hanuman that his son was beating him due to some kind of mental disorder. The blame would be essentially on the son rather than an outside force (the witch).

Treatments

As can be seen from the examples above the two major forms of treatment are "blowing" and "sweeping", which were discussed earlier. Two items that are used frequently in treatment are *jhal* and *prasad*. *Jhal* is sacred water, which is brought from a temple, given by a holy man or someone possessed by a deity. *Prasad* is the sharing in food or other offerings made to a deity. *Jhal* and *prasad* are usually given after Mā has done "sweeping" for several minutes. The sacred water is stirred with a knife and blown on. Mā said that she does not use formulas of words (mantra) to cure people but that she just has the power and can cure simply by seeing a devotee.

Besides treatment people come to Mā for advice and to give thanks. One man asked Mā if he should transfer to another office so he could

earn more money. She told him that it was not necessary to transfer and that he could earn more money by taking bribes. The man asked if this was safe and Mā said there would be no problem. Another man had come to give Mā 300 rupees for helping him win a court case. Devotees may also come to receive darsan (blessing of the Goddess) because just to see the Goddess is considered as a blessing or as religiously meritorious.

After a devotee has given an offering to Mā, she will begin treatment. For a "sweeping" (*jharnu*) treatment Mā sweeps a broom of wild grass over the devotees head. She may do this in a up and down motion followed by sweeping over each shoulder. A "sweeping" treatment could last anywhere from two to twelve minutes.

After the sweeping Mā takes some sacred water (*jhal*) and some white substance (that looked like large sugar crystals) and places them in a bowl. This is stirred and cut with a knife while blowing on it. Some of the white substance left in Mā's hand is given to the devotee to eat. Mā then pours the sacred water into the mouth of the devotee. She then takes some red powder (*abir*) and ash and places it on the devotees forehead (this is the giving of *tika*). After this Mā blows on the devotee's forehead and the treatment is over. These actions signify the end of treatment and worship.

While Mā is "sweeping" or stirring sacred water she is usually carrying on a conversation with the other devotees. During our visits I noticed that there were usually relaxed conversations between Mā and her devotees. She would always ask people how they were and there was quite a bit of joking among devotees. I found this environment relaxing and comfortable and always felt that Mā was genuinely concerned about her devotees.

Conclusion

The Goddess possesses Sita and through her treats illness, gives advice, and foretells the future for her devotees. The devotees are able to interact with the Goddess through a human vehicle. By participating in the offerings and receiving *tika* (mark placed on forehead) at the end of worship, I was able to identify with the devotees of Mā. I also found that discovering the different local concepts of illness facilitated understanding of this healing system.

My conclusion is that for Mā and her devotees, ideas about curing centre upon the notion of the necessity for obedience to a divine power (Mā), submission to this power, whereas individual "faith" as such is irrelevant. This contrasts with "faith-healing" in Western culture, where the stress is on the individual's responsibility for his/her own therapy."

In this paper I have tried to focus on the *emic* (insider's) perspective in order to facilitate an understanding of Sita's performance as a healer and her actions with the devotees. I further suggest that

this kind of understanding is qualitatively different from and ideally prior to "explanation" in social science. As Kakar suggests:

Explanation by very nature lies outside the phenomenon being studied, produces distance and allows a critical attitude to be possible. *Understanding* seeks an identification with the experience of others without which no true interpretation is possible. (1982:209).

Of course anthropology has for long emphasized the significance of uncovering the emic perspective. Nevertheless, it appears that in the study of healing at least, researchers in their rush toward "explanation", become lost in their own concepts or theories. These researchers miss the chance to develop an understanding that draws from the insider's perspective. Thus, as I have shown here, standard concepts such as "faith-healing", "spirit possession", or "shamanism" do not quite fit the situation of Mā and her devotees. By extension we can question the cross-cultural applicability of these concepts.

Secondly, I have suggested that attention to the emic perspective helps to account for the lack of competition between Mā and the modern medical facilities in the area. It is well known that "traditional" peoples the world over easily incorporate modern curative medicine into their health behavior and therapeutic choices. This is usually attributed to "pragmatism" (Foster and Anderson 1978: 245-246)--people will use what works and are not really interested in the theoretical aspect of medicine. I would argue that my informants might in fact have such a theoretical interest in medicine. Even when they remain primarily interested in effective cures. Specifically, for Mā and her devotees, it is through their own important distinction between "physical" and "supernatural" illness that they can accommodate both "traditional" and "modern" medicine.

My focus on the emic perspective in a study of healing is, of course, itself limited. I was a foreigner in Nepal and an outsider among Ma's devotees. In this position I agree with Geertz who wrote:

The ethnographer does not, and, in my opinion, largely cannot, perceive what his informants perceive. What he perceives, and that uncertainly enough, is what they perceive 'with'-- or 'by means of' or 'through'.. (1976:224).

In this discussion of healing, I have attempted to show something of my informants' perspective through a description of Mā and her devotees oriented around these peoples' own concepts of illness and the supernatural.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Mary M., 1971. *The Festivals of Nepal*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Erndhl, Kathleen., "The Play of the Goddess, Possession and Performance in the Panjabi Cult of Serenvali." Unpublished paper. University of Wisconsin-South Asian Studies.
- Foster, George and Anderson, Barbara., 1978. *Medical Anthropology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Geertz, Clifford., 1965. "Religion as a Cultural System". In *Reader in Comparative Religion: An Anthropological Approach*. W. Lessa and E.Z. Vogt (eds.). New York: Harper Row (third edition).
- _____, 1976. "From the Native's Point of View: on the Nature of Anthropological Understanding". In Keith H. Basso and Henry A. Selby (eds.), *Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press*, pp. 221-238.
- Hitchcock, John and Jones, Rex., 1976. *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Kaker, Sudhir., 1982. *Shamans, Mystics and Doctors: A Psychological Inquiry into India and its Healing Traditions*. Holland: Knopf.
- Nepali, Gopal Singh., 1964. *The Newars*. Bombay: United Asian Publications.
- Parsons, Talcott., 1972. "Definitions of Health and Illness in the Light of American Values and Social Structure". In E.P. Jaco (ed.) *New York: The Free Press of Glenco*, pp. 107-127.
- Pradhan, Bhuwan Lal., 1984. *Swayambhu*. Kathmandu: New Printing Press.
- Reinhard, Johan., 1976. "Shamanism and Spirit Possession: the Definition Problem". In John T. Hitchcock and Rex L. Jones (eds.), *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., pp. 12-21.
- Van Kooij, K.R., 1978. *Religion in Nepal*. Netherlands, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Tourists and Sherpas

James F. Fisher

To travel for economic or religious reasons (e.g. to pilgrimage sites) is as ancient a human activity as any we possess. But touring for rest, relaxation, or education began only in the 19th century as, on the one hand, the distinction between urban and rural began to reflect that of work and leisure, and, on the other, the socialization process of elites began to include the "Grand Tour" of Europe (Callimanopoulos 1982). As distant places, and the people in them, became idealized, travel became an antidote for our industrial civilization's discontent. But modern mass tourism is an entirely new phenomenon dating only from the mid-1960's when industrial affluence, an expanding middle class, and relatively cheap commercial jet travel combined to make it possible.

Observers of tourism tend to divide into two camps. One view, generally adopted by critics from the "tourist" side, is that the prize trophy caught in the tourist trap is the indigenous peoples who are its bait. On this account tourism ultimately dehumanizes and destroys the cultural integrity and richness of the toured areas because it "places the whole of the visited culture on sale, distorting its imagery and symbolism, turning its emotions loose, transforming a way of life into an industry...A culture...is turned from subject to object, from independent to dependent, from audience-in-its-own-right to spectacle". (Smith 1980).

Khumbu tourists frequently fall into this critical camp, although their concern is typically with degradation of the environment rather than the culture, as is illustrated by the following comment entered in the visitor's log book of the National Park Lodge at Tengboche Monastery: "I fear the trend...of "Industrial Tourism". Must we lead Nepal down the same ruination that so many of the western nations have gone? They have paved with asphalt the area around "Old Faithful" geyser in Yellowstone National Park, Yosemite has smog and traffic jams, they have buried the beautiful Colorado River behind Glen Canyon Dam, and the Canadians have blasted the so called "Ice-fields Parkway" right through their beautiful Jasper and Banff National Parks. Is that progress? Will the government's plan to build a road into this area improve it? or the lives of the people here? This spot, as well as the other beautiful and unique places on earth, should be considered the property of mankind, not a handful of developers, and should be treated with respect so that our children and their children can experience the beauty and solitude that we have all felt on this trek. If we want to help the people of Nepal, let's help them in real ways - better means of food production, schools, hospitals. Please, let's spare them from the garbage that is burying us". A more laconic trekker expressed the same sentiments more sardonically: A hot shower, steaks, and 500 ft. viewing tower with central heating would definitely be in order".

The opposite, more sanguine view holds that tourism is a boon because of the economic benefits it allegedly brings to indigenous peoples and their governments. Not surprisingly, central governments are generally persuaded by this argument, and His Majesty's Government of Nepal is no exception: tourism earnings now form the backbone of the non-agricultural sector of the economy. But as in other tourism-oriented countries, this is a very recent development.

The Rana regime that ruled from 1846 until 1951 devoted most of its governmental energies to seeing that as little development activity (not to mention tourism) as possible took place. But even before they were overthrown they (and the governments that had preceded them) had made some feeble and notably unsuccessful attempts to find exploitable mineral resources in the mountains. More energetic geological surveys since then have not yielded much either, and by the 1970's the Nepalese realized that their only substantial natural resource (other than hydroelectric power) had been staring down at them all along. Foreign tourists would pay handsomely for the privilege of entering the country to view the art and architecture of the cities and the rugged scenery of the countryside. Tourists who wanted to see and walk among the mountains would bring money to the often remote and poor rural villages. Only about 15% of all tourists to Nepal go trekking, but against this small figure must be measured the fact that they account for 37% of the nights spent in Nepal; those going to Khumbu spend an average of twelve days there (see Burger 1978).

According to the 5th plan (1975-1980), the development of tourism has three aims:

- (1) to earn foreign exchange and thus help produce a balance of payments;
- (2) to increase employment by developing local arts and handicrafts and to raise the purchasing power of the majority of people.
- (3) to install tourist centres at appropriate places to promote regional balance and to encourage interregional and regional tourism.

The first, and easiest, aim is being accomplished, which is no doubt also the main reason why tourism was a \$ 79 billion foreign exchange earner worldwide in 1976. The best way to assess whether the second and third aims are being accomplished is to examine the effects of tourism as they actually unfold in a particular mountain region. Khumbu is a 'best-case' area to study the local benefits of tourism because not only are its inhabitants visited by large numbers of tourists (though less than a third of all trekkers to Nepal), but unlike those who live in other trekking areas, its inhabitants also hold the most lucrative jobs in trekking: Sardars, Cooks, Sherpas, Cook-boys, and to a lesser extent even management jobs in the trekking companies in Kathmandu. The word Sherpa in this context is not an ethnic term out a job categorys-one who assists the trekking party by setting up tents, managing loads, and doing whatever other tasks need to be done in the course of a trek.

Thus whatever local benefits of tourism exist should be most immediately and conspicuously evident in Khumbu, whose population is involved with tourism in the most as well as in the least remunerative ways.

Methodology

In addition to obtaining basic demographic and economic data for all of upper Khumbu, I made a more detailed, comparative investigation of three villages and the monastery which serves them. Unless otherwise indicated, the data describes conditions as they existed in 1978.

Of all Khumbu villages, Namche Bazaar is the most directly affected by tourism, and for obvious geographical reasons. Every tourist (every Sherpa, for that matter), who enters upper Khumbu from Nepal must first pass through Namche Bazaar, central gateway to the rest of Khumbu.¹ Given the long, tiring climb up to Namche from the Dudh Kosi, it is also a natural stopping place for the night. Namche entrepreneurs have responded quickly to the economic opportunity tourists present by opening roughly 25 shops and hotels, which cater also to the 300 or so Nepalese government officials who now live in Namche. More establishments are springing up all the time.

The twin villages of Khumjung and Kunde are also strongly affected by tourism but in a more indirect way. Located an hour's walk above Namche they are slightly off the main trail to the major attractions of the area, such as Mt. Everest base camp. But large numbers of Khumjung and Kunde Sherpas work for trekking companies as Sardars, Cooks, Sherpas, and Cook-boys, as well as ordinary porters.

The third village, Phortse, stands apart from the others as the most traditional, conservative village in all of Khumbu. It is also the least affected by tourism. Finally, the monastery nearest to these three villages is Tengboche. Most of its monks are drawn from these and nearby villages, and it is to Tengboche that villagers repair for Mani-Rimdu, the major religious rite of the year. It is also Tengboche's monks whom they call to officiate at funerals or to read Tibetan texts to bring good fortune to a household.

Internal Variation

Westerners - tourists and anthropologists alike - tend to think of Sherpas as essentially uniform in culture, at least within Khumbu itself. But what I found especially intriguing were the internal differences distinguishing the three villages, and this was certainly apparent in the case of tourism. In Kunde, 85% of all households had at least one person working in tourism as Sardar, Cook, Cook-boy, Sherpa, or Porter. In Phortse, by contrast, only 47% of the households had someone similarly employed. The relevant figures for all three villages are as follows:

	Namche	Kunde	Khumjung	Phortse
% households with at least one member working in tourism	84%	85%	76%	47%
# individuals (total pop. in parentheses)	150(540)	68(227)	113(585)	35(277)
Rs/year earned in tourism	895,000	304,100	479,280*	184,850
Mean earnings/individual	5,967	4,472	4,241	5,281

- * This figure does not include wages for portering water the mile or so from Khumjung to the Japanese-built luxury hotel, the Everest-View. About 20 families provide porters for this purpose, which costs the hotel as much as Rs. 12,000/ month. The total annual income to Khumjung villagers for carrying during the monsoon and has relatively few clients during the coldest months. (For lack of reliable air service to Syangboche, the hotel closed, except for local customers, in 1982).

As the participation in tourism varies, so do the effects not only quantitatively, but qualitatively.

Economic Implications

As the village totals show, there are large sums of money to be earned in tourism, and these figures do not include the extras - tips, equipment, and clothing that can be used or sold, and the like. The lion's share, 40%, of the tourist trekking dollar goes to the trekking companies-themselves; the balance breaks down roughly as follows: trail expenses, 5%; food, 20%; Sherpas and porters, 35%. Of the 20 or so registered trekking companies in 1978, Sherpas had a majority financial interest in only four; by 1985 Sherpas owned about 30% of the companies.

The great majority of Khumbu Sherpas have never in their lives had access to such large amounts of cash, but much of their monetary gains is consumed by inflation, ubiquitous in Nepal and the rest of the world, but exacerbated in Khumbu as ever-increasing numbers of tourists compete for the goods sold in the weekly bazaar in Namche (the competition would be more acute if 50% of the food for organized groups were not bought in Kathmandu). The following comparisons of the period from 1964-1985 give some idea of the scale:

Wages, Food Prices and Percentage Increase in Khumbu, for Selected Years

	1964	1974	1978	1985	1964-85%
Porter wage	Rs. 6/day	10(67%)	18(80%)	30(67%)	400%
Sherpa wage	Rs.10/day	15(50%)	25(67%)	45(80%)	350%
Sardar wage	Rs.16/day	25(56%)	35(40%)	50(43%)	231%
Rice price	Rs.9/pathi	26(189%)	35(35%)	80(129%)	788%
Potato price	Rs.2/tin	14(600%)	20(43%)	25(25%)	1150%

The table only states in statistical form information Sherpas are quick to volunteer: although they are earning unprecedented wages now, things are really much the same as they were before because the cost of living is even higher. But this does not mean that the purchasing power of the Sherpas has declined or remained static since 1964, because in 1964 very few Sherpas had tourist or mountaineering jobs. Since they are, in this sense, starting from scratch, their cash situation can only have improved.

The extent that Sherpas grow most of the food they eat (unlike, for example, the Thakalis north of Pokhara), they are not affected by the ravages of inflation. But Sherpas now also buy as much rice, at its constantly inflating prices, as they can afford. This creates severe difficulties for those who can least afford it - the families that have little or no recourse to the financial benefits of tourism. The difficulties arise not because of the need to eat rice at home (there are always plenty of potatoes for domestic consumption) but because of the many social occasions on which it is culturally mandatory to serve expensive imported food. For example, whereas formerly buckwheat or potatoes was distributed at funerals, or at the annual Dumje festival, now it would be humiliating to serve anything other than rice. Even the remuneration paid to lamas to read texts at private Sherpa houses has increased.

Sherpas whose major source of cash is derived from the sale of dzom or zopkio face great financial uncertainty, since whether, and what, yak will reproduce from year to year is highly variable. Such animals are simply unreliable as sources of income, whereas by contrast herds of tourists have so far generated a dependable and even increasing annual income. Another type of difficulty is that faced by those - in the Thame valley, for example - who have traditionally bartered the Tibetan tea they bring from Tibet. Khumjung Sherpas who work for tourists can now use cash to buy Tibetan tea in Kathmandu cheaper than they can barter for it with the Thame traders.

But the most dramatic economic change is the increase in employment. To obtain work with an expedition in 1964 or before, a Sherpa had to go

to the Sardar with a bottle of change and ask for the privilege of carrying a load.

By 1974 the situation was utterly reversed. I remember Sardars for the Spanish Mr. Everest Expedition that year feverishly combing Khumbu villages for any spare animals or otherwise unemployable humans (like elderly women) who would carry their loads from Lukla to base camp. Another indication of the labor shortage is the disappearance of the 'chit books' in which Sherpas used to carefully keep letters of reference, written by expedition leaders, to use in future job-hunting. In a seller's market, such recommendations have become superfluous. Sherpas starting with little or no cash in 1964 - certainly the vast majority - are in enviable economic positions today, and they know it.

But partly because of inflation, partly because the pay is seasonal, and partly because most Sherpas have little business experience, there has been little savings or productive investment. When asked what they have done with all their substantial earnings, Sherpas reply, in Nepali, that they have 'eaten' their money - and they usually mean that in the literal sense that they now eat a more varied and expensive diet than previously. In Khumbu, this means not only more rice, formerly a relatively rarely eaten luxury but now eaten as often as two or three times a week; but also more vegetables and fruits, some grown locally, the result of garden - experiments by individual Sherpas.

A still wider variety of fruits and vegetables is available from the weekly bazaar in Namche, which did not even exist in 1964. Before it began functioning in 1965, "Namche Bazaar" was really a misnomer justified only by the fact that many citizens of Namche were traders and kept stocks of goods - including rice - in their houses; some of the rice they transported to Tibet on yaks, but they would also sell locally on demand. Sherpas believe in the Tibetan proverb they quote, "You don't become poor from eating, but from being lazy". What they do not spend in other ways they spend on jewelry primarily, or on repairing or upgrading their houses by, for example, replacing their traditional slate or wood roofs with sheets of corrugated iron. In Kathmandu "eating" their money can mean spending not only on more expensive food, but also on alcohol, parties, taxis, movies, and so on.

As there is much more to spend money on now, even within Khumbu (not only food, housing, and jewelry, but also clothes and modern items such as watches and radios), incipient class differences are emerging as a new 'tourist Sherpa' class begins to develop. This nouveau riche group is distinguished by the novel source of wealth at its disposal (land and yak herds were the old basis of wealth) and the ostensibly different life-style it can buy. Formerly too there were great wealth differences among families, but wealthy people looked and lived about the same as poor people - at least for most everyday, practical purposes. There was little the wealthy could do with their money (other than host feasts such as Dumje more lavishly than poorer people could, or donate generously to religious projects, or wear more jewelry), to distinguish

themselves from those who were less well off. But with imported hiking boots, colorful wool sweaters, and down parkas, it is not hard to distinguish a trekking Sherpa from a fulltime, old-style potato farmer. In the absence of traditional wool garments, poorer Sherpas now have to pile on many layers of cotton to keep warm. (Fürrer-Haimendorf 1975).

Another result of massive employment in tourism is that people no longer have time to do some of the things they did before. Time "has the great advantage that it is measurable and that it must be used in the satisfaction of any ends whatsoever", and changing allocations of time clearly reflect changing livelihood patterns in the Sherpa case. While one can always make increasingly precise measures of anything - including time - it is enough here to note that any Sherpa involved with tourism spends more time out of Khumbu than at home, and many Sherpas spend ten months a year away from their homes. There is certainly precedent for seasonal absences from home in the long-distance trading to Tibet, but the present trend has greatly increased both the number of Sherpas gone from Khumbu and the total time they are away.

Some traditional local crafts are dying out, not only because tourist jobs are more profitable, but because the supply of wood and wool is not as large or as dependable as it used to be. With so much cash on hand people now just tend to buy manufactured items; instead of making their own clothing, for example, they can easily buy Korean or Japanese cloth in the Namche shops. Or instead of the traditional heavy wooden water carriers, people increasingly use light-weight plastic jerry cans, part of the expeditionary flotsam and jetsam that has accumulated over the years.

On the other hand, sales in Tibetan-style tourist curios are brisk. Confronting the tourist as soon as he steps off the plane at Syangboche or Lukla, as well as at various places along the trails, are curio salesmen - frequently Tibetan refugees - with their wares spread out on a blanket or ground cloth. Almost all these curios are flown in from Kathmandu (and some of the items are made by Tibetans living in India), although tourists think they are getting the genuine article by coming to what they imagine is its true source (the only Tibetan curios that actually come from Tibet are yak bells).

The job of school teacher, although certainly not an occupation with a very long history in Khumbu, is another casualty of mass tourism. Of 33 teachers spread over the five Khumbu schools, only two are Sherpas; the others are all Nepalese outsiders. The same fate has befallen other skilled professions, such as carpenters and power-house operators for the new hydel plant in Namche. Young Sherpas regard trekking jobs as much more attractive, although the advantages are somewhat illusory: teachers earn a regular monthly salary while most trekking jobs pay only during the actual trek and not between treks or during the off-season. But Sherpas think not just of trekking jobs but of trekking careers, and the capstone to a career in trekking is the position of Sardar. The hope of becoming a Sardar is what draws the younger generation out of the schools and into tourism in such large numbers.

The remuneration to a trekking Sardar is highly variable, according to the policies and resources of the different trekking companies. But those who hold "A" class Sardar positions (the highest of the three classes, A.B. and C) typically earn Rs. 900/month, twelve months a year, plus insurance, a pension fund, and free food while trekking. Lucrative as this is, it represents only a part of the total income potentially available to a Sardar. The possibilities open to a Sardar to augment his income through graft are exceedingly rich, since it is he who acts as bursar for the trekking group's trail expenses. For example, if he is paying Rs. 30/day for porters, reports that he is employing 35 porters but actually has only 30 loads, he can pocket the wages of the five phantom porters for a daily profit of Rs. 150 to himself, on top of his regular, legitimate earnings. This is in addition to the practice common in Khumbu before the present labor shortage, and still practiced elsewhere in Nepal, of extracting a "commission" from porters in return for giving them jobs.

There is an irony in the fact that Sherpas prefer trekking to teaching, since one of the main qualifications Sherpas have for working with tourists nowadays is their knowledge of spoken and written Nepali and English, which they would not have had if they not attended one or the other of their local village schools. Thus they acquire literacy in schools which they then abandon to take jobs which increasingly require it. From virtually no literacy in Nepali, not to mention English, in 1964, by 1978 there were 157 Sherpas literate in Nepali in Namche Bazaar; 174 in Khumjung; 57 in Kunde; and 51 in Phortse. Students in the upper classes tend to prefer the immediate rewards of trekking to the delayed gratification entailed by further education. Even some of those attending college in Kathmandu play hookey during the trekking season to work for tourists. Some of the older mountaineering Sardars, recognizing how fragile the trekking industry potentially is, want a university education for their children but the children themselves generally want to get into trekking as soon as they can.

Another traditional occupation that has suffered is agriculture. Beginning in the Spring of 1974, Khumbu Sherpas began hiring Solu Sherpas in large numbers to work their fields while they themselves went off to pursue more lucrative trekking jobs (see Bjønness 1983). This pattern is now well established, and in 1978 a majority of the households in Khumjung-Kunde had at least one servant paying, them Rs. 6/day plus food for their labor while they themselves earned trekking wages and pocketed the difference.

For a variety of reasons, including the tendency for hired labor not to execute jobs with the care that a landowner working his own land would, and the decrease in leaf-litter that has accompanied deforestation, the general consensus is that there has been a slight drop in agricultural productivity. Sherpas are not alarmed by the decline, perhaps because it has been offset by the recent introduction of a strain of potato with three times the yield of the traditional variety. Sherpas prefer the taste of the old potato and use the new variety in pancakes, to make beer, and so on. They keep about 20% of their fields planted in the old strain, which are preferred for boiling.

Still, the feeling persists that crops are not what they used to be, and marginal, relatively unproductive fields - in high summer pastures, for example - are being abandoned for lack of manpower to cultivate them. The strict rules designed to keep animals out of the village during the growing season and until after the harvest are now very loosely enforced in Khumjung; by contrast Phortse still observes these rules to the letter, and they still produce good crops - much better, it is commonly acknowledged by the inhabitants of both villages, than those in Khumjung.

Perhaps the greater danger of mass employment in tourism is that tourism itself is vulnerable to so many potential threats. A basic principle of ecological analysis, Liebig's Law, states that a viable adaptation to an environment must be able to survive the most difficult conditions, as opposed to just the average conditions, that the environment imposes. Otherwise one is faced with a strategic situation similar to that of the non-swimming statistician who drowned trying to wade across a river whose average depth was only three feet.

Khumbu Sherpas have to worry about increased competition from Sherpas elsewhere in Nepal as well as from other groups, such as Tamangs. Already their monopoly even on countaineering expeditions has been weakened. Of 32 high altitude Sherpas employed by the American Mt. Everest Expedition in 1963, 25 were from Khumbu and only three from Solu (four were from Darjeeling). No large expedition today is likely to be staffed so overwhelmingly by Khumbu Sherpas, and the notion that a Tamang or Newar could reach the summit of Mt. Everest (a Tamang made the ascent in 1973 and repeated it in 1985, when a Newar also reached the top) was not seriously entertained in 1963.

Sherpas must also face the possibility of external threats beyond their control, such as an economic recession, an oil embargo, political turmoil, or a government policy to discourage tourism. Any of these factors could halt tourism overnight. The spectacular financial success of tourism is thus limited in the same way that the increased production of the Green Revolution is. The Green Revolution is spectacular only if all the necessary inputs - irrigation, fertilizer, and so on - are available in the right amounts at the right times. The same is true of tourism in a remote place such as Khumbu. Tourists are a new kind of crop the Sherpas are raising on their steep mountain slopes, and this crop is as subject to environmental constraints, pressures, and disasters as any strain of miracle rice. An even more appropriate analogy is the one that Sherpas themselves use: to think of tourists as so many cattle, since they both represent highly productive and prestigious, but perishable, forms of wealth. Like cattle, tourists give good milk, but only if they are well-fed.

Images: Tourists

To understand tourism in Khumbu requires understanding not only Sherpas but also their clients. Tourists want to come to Khumbu not only to see Mt. Everest and the Himalayas, but also because they like the Sherpas or like what they have heard or read about them, whether in

a book about Sherpas specifically, or incidentally in a book about Nepal or mountaineering which mentions them. (Although the result may be due to the sense of humor of tired trekkers who had hoped to escape from questionnaires in the Himalayas, the book tourists mentioned most frequently was *Tintin in Tibet*.) Having discovered that technology enables us to control nature without enhancing our experience of it or ourselves, tourists retreat to the high Himalayas to intensify their sense of both. Khumbu offers the rare opportunity (rare because men and mountains meet so much more closely there than they do elsewhere in the Himalayas) to experience culture and nature, and their combination - adventure - at the top of the world.

There exists now and always has existed a kind of mutual admiration society between Sherpas and Westerners, and just why this should be so is an interesting question in itself. What is involved is the set of images, in many ways stereotyped, each group has of the other. The image Westerners have developed of Sherpas is extremely positive: that of an egalitarian, peaceful, hardy, honest, polite, industrious, hospitable, cheerful, independent, brave, heroic, compassionate people. This image begins on the basis of hearsay, literary evidence, which has by now assumed epic proportions, and then is reinforced, when everything goes well, by personal experience in the course of a trek.

These images reflect not only what Westerners think about Sherpas but what Sherpa culture itself values in human beings. So far as they go these images do capture one side of Sherpa personality - but only one side. Like all people, Sherpas have a public side - a front stage where they act the way they want the rest of the world to see them. They also have a private side - a back stage where they are more unadornedly true to themselves. The images sketched above characterize the front stage. They are also present on the back stage, but so are many other, less flattering types of behavior.

One of the difficulties of working on a tourist trek - a 24 hour/day job - is to maintain the official front stage image fulltime - a task designed to tax a saint. So it is only when the trek is over and the backstage can be safely unveiled at home that the unrelenting binges and general hell-raising that go on for days take place. Successful trekking Sherpas realize that they are, in part, paid professional actors and entertainers. The stories and dances and songs are genuine enough, but they are also what clients want. And what clients pay for, they get. There are other less salutary sides to Sherpa character - for example, the smuggling which provides the money to support life-styles of ever-escalating luxury, comfort, and ease. But this is all back-stage behavior, not to be revealed in the official image.

The original, pre-Lukla image Sherpas held of Westerners was one of a technologically sophisticated, generous, wealthy, irrationally adventurous, egalitarian, and well-intentioned if not always very physically strong people. This more-or-less coherent image was formed on the basis of contact with a relatively homogeneous, small number of people, mostly mountaineers and the occasional hardy trekker. But this image has given

way in recent years to a much more inchoate one, which has emerged out of their myriad experiences with thousands upon thousands of tourists - everyone from the psychotic French woman who had to be strait-jacketed and evacuated, to the American who has taken the vows of a lama, to the German divorcee in search of romance. In addition to the original positive image, foreigners are now equally apt to be thought crude, stumbling, demanding, unpredictable, and cheap. Where foreigners are concerned, Sherpas have learned to have no stable expectations. So much for unitary images.

The reason Westerners are so enchanted with Sherpas is that the qualities the Sherpas are thought to possess are not only those Westerners admire; they are also precisely those they feel they should have but conspicuously lack or do not adequately measure up to. So Sherpa society, or the Western image of it, represents a dramatic realization of what Westerners would like to be themselves, hence the frequently breathless enthusiasm of the former for the latter.

There is also probably a measure of admiration for what Westerners regard as the liberal Sherpa sexual ethic, and in this there are precedents (both in the anthropological reporting and in the public admiration) in earlier work by Margaret Mead and B. Malinowski among the islanders of the South Pacific.

Although the causes, strength, and justification of the mutual admiration may be debated, there clearly is an affinity between Westerners and Sherpas, as evidenced by the high rate of intermarriage. There have been 40 or so cases of marriage between Westerners and Sherpas, almost all relatively uneducated villagers from Solu or Khumbu (Fürer-Haimendorf 1985). And there have been many more informal liaisons, primarily between trekking Sardars and their Western female clientele. The latter phenomenon is a reversal of the more typical tourist situation elsewhere in the world where single tourists are apt to be males traveling in pursuit of interests both exotic and erotic.

Images: Mountaing and Mountaineering

One example of a mutually false image is the fundamental incompatibility between Sherpa and tourist perceptions of the environment - ironic in view of the fact that it is the environment that attracts Westerners to Khumbu in the first instance. The most general Sherpa term for beautiful (*lemu*) can apply to the physical features as well as personality qualities of human beings, both men and women. It can also apply to inanimate objects and to the environment as a whole. But while a field or forest might be *lemu*, the giant snow peaks towering in every direction over Khumbu are never considered *lemu*. Their color (white) is seen as uninteresting - not a surprising judgement in view of the obvious Sherpa preference for the vivid colors which are so evident in such disparate contexts as religious paintings and women's aprons. A snow peak elsewhere might be admired for its shape, and Pertemba, one of the foremost Sherpa Sardars of his time, says that one of the pleasures he derives from climbing is the beauty of the different views from high on

a mountain. But otherwise familiarity has bred indifference rather than awe, and the shape of the Khumbu snow and ice peaks is just too boring to be considered *lemu*.

Sherpas are generally mystified that Westerners come to Khumbu at such great expense and in such great numbers, whether to trek or to climb. Even the most experienced Sardars admit they cannot fathom why Europeans climb, though they make guesses. One hunch is that they climb for fame, since the books they write always include plenty of pictures of themselves. But Sherpas also know that books are bought, so a second hypothesis is that people climb to make money - one Sardar, for example, thought this was the case with Chris Bonington since he has written (and presumably sold) so many books, whereas the same Sardar thought it is fame that drives Reinhold Messner to the summits. Another wondered whether science was not the prime motivation, while still another view was that climbers climb to clear their minds from the worries of office work.

The Sardar who held the latter view said that if he were an office worker he might well need to clear his mind too, but if so he would do it by going on a weekend picnic rather than by climbing. Eight of Khumbu's most experienced and prestigious Sardars unanimously agreed that virtually the only reason they climb is because they need the high income they cannot earn any other way. As one put it, if he had the education to qualify for a good office job he would unhesitatingly choose that line of work. Sherpas basically see no intrinsic point in climbing: neither fame (though that is welcome since it helps them get their next climbing job more easily), nor challenge, nor adventure. Climbing is simply a high-paying job. None of the eight Sardars expressed much enthusiasm for a hypothetical all Sherpa expedition, simply because they could not imagine any earnings accruing from it. This does not mean they do not enjoy the camaraderie and the scenic views, or that they do not take pride in a job well done: it simply means that those reasons alone would never motivate them to move up a mountain.

One liability of climbing is the difficulty caused to women who are left behind to manage the household, but this is seen even by the women so affected as a relatively minor inconvenience that is compensated for by the pay that is earned. Sherpas see danger as by far the most unrelentingly negative feature of climbing. As they see their friends die one after the other as the years go by, they are only too vividly aware of the risks. Their wives and parents are universally opposed to their expedition work for that very reason. But the climbing Sherpas' view is that danger comes with the territory; they just hope they can learn enough from the deaths of their friends to avoid their mistakes. Their judgement is that climbing is a hard but good job in which the benefits balance the risks - a view which is probably shared by Nepal's other big foreign exchange earners, the Gurkha soldiers who are paid to fight and die for Britain and India. Climbing Sherpas compare deaths on a mountain favorably with those of soldiers and taxi drivers, whose deaths are not insured. Those who feel the risks are not justified by the difference in pay (and equipment) between climbing and trekking choose

the latter, although many do both depending on the vagaries of opportunity and their own fluctuating financial needs.

Sardar Pertemba is typical of many climbing/trekking Sherpas who abandoned his studies and started working earlier than he might have otherwise because of the English he had learned at his village school (he also points out that knowing English will not help you get to the top of the mountain). Pertemba likes both climbing and trekking, but the work he enjoys most is the teaching he has done at the government mountaineering school in Manang. Most Sherpas learn to climb primarily not from foreign mountaineers but from other Sherpas, usually between Base Camp and Camp I on their first expedition. Pertemba thinks Sherpas need a mountaineering school in Khumbu to train young Sherpas properly and systematically in mountaineering technique.

The fact that mountains are not aesthetic monuments for the Sherpas does not mean that they are indifferent to all of them. Some peaks, like Khumbui Yul Lha, rising behind Khumjung-Kunde, are sacred by virtue of the deities which reside on them. Sherpas were reluctant to climb Karyolung, because of its sacredness, during the first all-Nepal expedition to that peak in 1975. They had no such compunctions about Kwangde, the second objective of the expedition, and proceeded without further ado to the top, as it turned out, of the east peak which they mistook for the main summit. Whether such spiritual reluctance would have existed had the summits of Khumbu been accessible in 1907 when Sherpas first began climbing, in Sikkim, is an interesting but unanswerable historical question. Certainly no such general reluctance exists today. Not only the mountains but also some of their spiritually may have eroded over the years.

Khumbu must now be one of the most thoroughly mapped regions on the face of the earth, with vernacular names for virtually all prominent features of the landscape, but this detailed nomenclature is often a creation of foreign cartographers. As recently as 1950 Tilman listed Ama Dablam, by now probably the most photographed peak in Nepal, as 'unnamed', and when I visited Everest base camp in 1964. 'Kala Patthar', now of the most popular trekking destinations in Nepal, was unnamed.

All this geographical detail is evidence of the reversal of values which historically made Solu, with its lower elevation, more fertile fields, and more salubrious climate, the more highly valued land. One scenario is that the earliest Sherpa pioneers probably settled first in the more hospitable climate of Solu, and it was by and large the late-comers or impoverished Solu Sherpas who had to settle for the harsher, more rugged landscape of Khumbu. Now it is Khumbu which is the centre of a booming prosperity, thus demonstrating that a resource acquires worth only upon the simultaneous convergence of technology, values, and a market.

Images: Social

Another example of incompatibility of images concerns concepts of pollution. While Sherpas have a concept of pollution, *tip*, it has

nothing to do with the pollution of their environment by tin cans, plastic, and rubber that tends to unhinge the minds of so many Westerners - porters and Sherpas are responsible for the bulk of the non-toilet paper litter. Sherpas do not care much about this Western-style pollution one way or the other, because their concept of pollution concerns only the self, or human creations and artifacts, such as houses (see Ortner 1973). *Tip* is a feeling, a moral state of mind, and is not generated ultimately from empirical observation of the natural world. For example, pollution can be induced socially by contact with certain kinds of people, such as low-caste Nepali *Kamis*, or blacksmiths, of whom there are a few families in Namche and one in Khumjung, or members of the Tibetan butcher class. Westerners would surely, if they were aware of these discriminations, moderate their views of egalitarian Sherpa society. But since all Westerners must of necessity come to the Sherpas via the far more obviously hierarchical Hindu societies to the south, they are lulled into ascribing an egalitarian ideology to the Sherpas which is a simplification if not downright distortion of the ethnographic facts.

But I do not want to leave the impression that Sherpas and their clients pass like ships in the night, completely misperceiving each other. The Sherpa/trekker relationship is, as these things go in the world of tourism, an unusually long and intensive one. Even though, as in any person-to-person interaction, only behaviours relevant to the encounter are exhibited - we never play all our roles at the same time - nevertheless Sherpas and their clients do get to know each other over an extended period of time, rarely less than a week, often for a month or more.

Exigencies of living break down what might otherwise be a formal, distant relationship: the Sherpas are in their element, doing well what they have always done naturally - walking, carrying loads, enduring cold weather - all in perfectly acclimatized condition. The Westerners are, by contrast, usually out of shape, tired, plagued by sore muscles and blisters, and gasping for air. Sherpas are paid to be helpful under these conditions, and they are. And they are cheerful, hard working, and anxious to please, so in the end a relationship of trust and respect is built which would be impossible with a guide on a half-day tour of Kathmandu.

Westernization

Are Sherpas being Westernized? By many visible indexes they are. First, they wear Western-style clothing - pants, shirts, down jackets, and climbing or hiking boots. (Women's clothes have not changed from the basic, indigenous Tibetan style, thus conforming to the female sartorial conservatism that has been the rule generally all over South Asia). But it is significant that Khumbu Sherpas wear either Sherpa clothes (even the most well-equipped mountaineering Sherpa will wear the traditional Tibetan coat on ceremonial occasions) or Western dress, but never the Nepali national dress.

When His Majesty's King Birendra visited the Government Yak Farm at Syangboche in 1974, the Pradhan Panchas of both the Khumjung and

Namche Panchayats greeted him with sport coats and neckties, not *daura-suruwal*, the national dress.

Similarly with language: Sherpas recognize the importance and desirability of mastering the national language in both its spoken and written forms. But it is also felt that a Sherpa is putting on airs if he uses too much Nepali in an otherwise purely Sherpa conversation.

Through association with trekkers, as well as extensive travel abroad in the lands from which the trekkers come, there is a wide knowledge of modern hygiene, Western languages (including Japanese), and material culture generally. The tradition of drinking Tibetan salt-and-butter tea has largely disappeared in Sherpa homes, and it is much more common now for Sherpas to drink sugar-tea (because of the high price of butter and the uncertainty of supply of Tibetan tea). Western ways are admired because it is through Western contacts that new channels of mobility and access to power, wealth, and prestige have opened up. Sherpas honor the West because their experience of it has been so overwhelmingly financially positive.

My own view is that matters such as clothing styles and diet are relatively superficial in themselves, and that much more important is the fact that Sherpas have maintained a cultural identity that is strongly and exclusively Sherpa. There is little that is self-deprecating about the Sherpas. Whatever they are, they are mostly proud of it. Even those Sherpas who have achieved the greatest success, through mountaineering accomplishments or university educations, think of themselves uncompromisingly as Sherpas - not as Westerners, or Nepalese (although they are certainly loyal citizens of the realm), but simply as Sherpas.

Part of the reason for this tenacious cultural identity is the mutual admiration society that I have already mentioned. Sherpas are so massively reinforced at every point for being Sherpas that there is every reason not only to 'stay' Sherpa but even to flaunt one's Sherpahood. One might even say that part of the pay Sherpas receive from tourists is pay for being Sherpa, or at least for performing the role that the popular image of Sherpa demands be played - they remain Sherpa because they are paid to be. Nor are the advantages of their enviable status lost on other groups in Nepal. Tamangs, for example, frequently try to pass themselves off as Sherpas, and a process of 'Sherpaization' exists which acts counter to the thrusts of the much-vaunted Sanskritization that has absorbed the upward-mobilizing energies of the sub-continent for millenia.

One example of the reinforcement Sherpas have received for being proud and independent is the fact that in recent years a number of the more successful Sherpas have dropped the suffix 'Saheb' and address their Western clients on a first name basis - something no house or hotel-servant or tour guide in Kathmandu would dream of doing. Westerners often react favourably to being 'just one of the boys' - an equal - even if they are being waited on hand-and-foot. On the other hand,

Westerners accustomed to or expecting more traditional hierarchical servant/master relations are taken aback by the I'm-just-as-good-as-you Sherpa personality.

Because the 'tourist Sherpas' still identify themselves very much as Sherpas, no class of 'marginal men' - people neither fully Sherpa nor Western - has developed, as is often the case in such contact situations. Although the sexual differentiation that exists between Sherpa men and women is being maintained by differential access to education and jobs (there are occasional Sherpani 'cook-boys', but only one Sherpani Sardar so far), the 'tourist Sherpa' is not marginal to his society at all but fully accepted within its fold. Even Sherpas who live ten months of the year in Kathmandu keep their houses and fields and, often, their families, in Khumbu. One Sherpa who has lived in Kathmandu for more than 15 years, ten months of the year, now holds a high and trusted position (chorimba) in the civil-religious hierarchy in his village. He is able to return to his village during the Dumje festival, in early summer, when his presence is most essential. The fact that he is hardly ever in his village does not diminish his status there. On the contrary, his success in the travel business in Kathmandu has endorsed and enhanced it.

Intensification

Rather than Westernization or nationalization, then, there has been an intensification of Sherpa culture. That is, Sherpas have come to value some of their traditions even more than they did prior to the advent of tourism. In religion, for example, although now Sherpas rarely commission the carving of prayers on stones for the prayer-walls at the entrance of villages, there seems to be no lessening of faith in Buddhist doctrine. Some Sherpas claim that interest in religion is deeper than it was before, and some of the most successful and "Westernized" Sherpas are among the most devout.

Religious "strength" is difficult to measure, but clearly interest and participation in the many Buddhist rituals are as strong as ever. Certainly the most educated Sherpas are still committed Buddhists who believe in and rely on their lamas' liturgical and ecclesiastical powers. The Tengboche Rimpoche was able to raise \$20,000 in two days for a new gumpa in Kathmandu in 1981. Kalden Sherpa, owner of a flourishing trekking company, in 1963 considered himself Christian, but he is now one of the most generous supporters of Tengboche Monastery; he is personally financing the higher studies of four thawas at this Kathmandu gumpa. (Hillary 1964).

Sherpas have not only maintained their cultural identity and intensified it, but they have also contributed to making generally Tibetan life-styles respectable in Nepal, among Hindu and Hinduized Nepalese. In the first place, hero status is accorded anyone who has climbed Mr. Everest - recognition in the press, praise by the Prime Minister, and an audience with him, thus turning the job of high-altitude porter into a distinguished and honorable occupation. Those so honored thus far include 28 Sherpas, one Tamang and one Newar.

Sherpa success at high altitudes coincided with a surge of interest in things Tibetan after the great publicity given the Dalai Lama's retreat from Lhasa in 1959. Then after the 1962 China-India border war, when India placed severe restrictions on travel by foreigners into the Indian Himalayas and closed traditional centres of Tibetan culture, like Kalimpong, to Westerners, Kathmandu became a place not only for foreigners to experience the culture of Tibetan refugees but for Bhutaneese, Sikkimese, and Tibetan nobility and businessmen to live and work. Being wealthier than most Nepalese, they frequented the more elegant hotels and restaurants in their traditional dress, and their costume became identified no longer as the dress of lowly Bhotias but as the normal clothing of wealthy, powerful people.

All these developments combined to contribute to the rise in Sherpa status in the eyes of their countrymen, and the female Sherpa or Tibetan dress changed from an object of scorn, from the Hindu point of view, to high fashion - worn in the fashionable restaurants, hotels and discotheques of Kathmandu, and on board RNAC aircraft on international and domestic flights, all by women who would not have dreamed of wearing anything but a saree a few years before. A telling case in point is a Namche Sherpani who married a wealthy Newar and moved to Kathmandu in the late 1950's. During the first few years in Kathmandu she wore a saree, trying to blend in with her husband's milieu. By the 1970's she had reverted to her Sherpa dress, although this time with a more modish, tailored cut. By the 1980's her tastes had become totally eclectic - sometimes Sherpa dress, sometimes a saree, sometimes slacks or a western dress.

Political Implications

Although Sherpa culture is being intensified rather than adulterated, tourism is nevertheless accelerating the last stage of nation building in what would otherwise still be a remote and inaccessible area. Until 1964, when then Crown Prince Birendra made one of the first landings at Lukla in order to dedicate the new school at Chaunrikharka no high or even middle-level government official had ever visited Khumbu. Now, His Majesty as well as other high officials such as the Zonal Commissioner have visited Khumbu many times. In 1964 Government presence in Khumbu was represented by a Post Office and police checkpost in Namche. By 1978 there had been added two airstrips, a meteorological station,² a Government Yak Farm, village panchayat secretaries from outside Khumbu, a medical centre, a bank providing such services as savings accounts and encashment of travellers' checks, a police checkpost in Thame, and a National Park which includes all of upper Khumbu (excluding, technically, the villages themselves).

Sherpas have viewed most of these institutions as either helpful or harmless. But initially, at least, the primary feeling about the National Park has been one of fear. The main impact of the Park so far has been to enforce strictly the law against cutting green wood for fuel, and since no realistic alternative has been provided Sherpa concern is understandable.³ Much of the fear is based on rumors about even worse

regulations still to come, such as that in the future Sherpas will not be allowed to gather leaf-litter from the forests.

The National Park is in the unenviably ambiguous position of having no authority to control or advise on large development projects sponsored by other agencies (such as the Austrian-aided hydroelectric project near Thame) but at the same time, as the paramount political authority it has had an enervating effect on once strong local institutions.

The traditional Forest Wardens (Shing Nawa) had ceased functioning by the early 1970's (although they are still active in Phortse) as the astronomical sums tourists paid for firewood had led to massive cutting which systematically undermined the Forest Wardens' authority. In 1982 honorary Forest Wardens were appointed from each Panchayat ward, but they have not had much effect because they were given no authority to levy fines. All this is in dramatic contrast to 1964, when firewood was free for the asking to any overnight visitor in Solu-Khumbu.

Fuelwood consumption is strongly influenced not only by numbers of tourists but also by their trekking style. In 1978 70% of Khumbu trekkers were in organized groups, which have their own tents and food, while 30% stayed in local lodges - "tea-house trekkers" as they are known in the trade. The big groups use the most wood because they are big (there are two or three porters/Sherpas for each tourist) and because their Sherpas make their own, usually inefficient cooking fires and keep their clients cozy with bonfires. "Tea-house trekkers" require fewer support personnel and keep warm in the lodges. As year-round lodges have sprung up almost all the way to Everest base camp the composition of Khumbu trekkers has shifted markedly towards the individuals and small groups who patronize them. Kerosene is so prohibitively expensive, compared to firewood, that only hotels and lodges can afford to use it. Moreover, the National Park can monitor fuel use and enforce regulations much more readily in fixed sites than it can among nomadic trekking groups. (Bjorness 1979).

Sherpas say that the National Park is now their Forest Warden. The traditional rule which enjoined Sherpas not to cut green trees applied only to forests near the villages, and the fine for breaking it (a bottle of beer) was mild. The National Park attempts to enforce the rule everywhere, far from the villages as well as near them, and punishment for breaking the law includes heavy fines and imprisonment.

The National Park has an impact even in areas where it does not belong. When the National Park was dedicated, on the grounds of Tengboche monastery, a new trekkers' lodge (built over the objections of the Rimpoche), a chicken was sacrificed - not as part of the dedication ceremonies but by some Nepalese officials on their own. Officially or unofficially, the sacrifice of an animal near a monastery, of all places, was resented by the lamas, who refuse to kill even insects.

The deterioration of local political institutions cannot be explained by the existence of the National Park alone. Even if the local village

Panchayats did not feel preempted by the Park, tourist jobs have lured away virtually everybody with leadership abilities. To serve effectively in the Panchayat it is necessary to be generally resident in the area. But as one influential local leader put it, anybody with any ambition or brains or ability is off working for tourists most of the time, so there are too few competent people left to serve on the Panchayats. The result is that Panchayat members are either capable leaders who are often absent from Khumbu, or residents with little interest in politics, or, in one case, the wife of a local leader who serves as a surrogate for her politically important but frequently absent husband.

Both of these factors - the supremacy of the National Park and the lack of leaders who stay put in Khumbu long enough to take an active part in political affairs there - have led to a fragmentation of village interests, with different individuals or groups promoting separate aims: the Everest-View Hotel, the trekking companies, the Himalayan Trust, the National Park, and so on. Whatever united a village politically in the past seems to have weakened in the face of all the external interests which now assert themselves. This fragmentation of interests is reflected in the lack of consensus on the importance of keeping animals out of the fields of Khumjung described earlier.

Demographic Consequences

The major demographic consequence of tourism is the large outflow of young men from Khumbu for the better part of the year. There are two reasons for this emigration: one is to avoid the inflated social obligations which bankrupt those not involved in tourism (the "social budget" is now estimated to exceed the "domestic budget"). The other cause is simply the motivation to earn the money trekking jobs bring in.

One consequence of the increase in long seasonal absences among the Sherpas is a lower birth rate and a concentration of births nine months after the summer monsoon season (see Pawson 1984). Other demographic consequences of tourism and mountaineering include high mortality rates for young men: from 1950 through 1985, 77 Sherpas died on mountaineering expeditions in Nepal. The great majority of these were Khumbu Sherpas, and the mortality rate among adult males is therefore quite high. But the existence of polyandry (although younger Sherpas now scorn the custom) and easy widow remarriage diminished the effects such deaths might have on the birth rate.

What has made much more difference to the birth rate is the family-planning techniques made available through the Kunde Hospital. Contraception has recreated the relatively low fertility conditions that polyandry had produced before; the former results in fewer children per family, the latter in fewer families.

Again, the rate of adoption of these measures seems influenced by the degree of participation in tourism. In Kunde, with only seven exceptions all fertile women who had living husbands and two or more living children were practicing some form of birth control. Of these 14 had

accepted IUD's, while three were taking pills. By contrast, in Phortse not a single woman had accepted a loop, three had received longlasting injections (Depo-Provera), seven had tried pills but six of these had stopped taking them (some of whom had since become pregnant), and 19 were not practicing any form of contraception. The fact that only seven women were not practicing contraception in Kunde, compared to 19 in Phortse (two villages of about the same size) can be explained by the degree to which the inhabitants of each has been drawn into the modern world through tourism and mountaineering - the economic importance of children declines quickly in an economy based on tourism rather than agriculture or transhumant nomadism.

The Sherpa medical assistant at the Kunde hospital reports that Phortse women are too shy to ask for loops, and are reluctant to ask for any other form of contraception, whereas for Kunde women such devices are accepted as an everyday fact of life. It is true that the hospital is located in Kunde and not in Phortse, but more than mere physical proximity is involved, since for any Phortse woman it is only a two-hour walk to Kunde - a trivial distance by Khumbu standards. It is unfortunate that many Phortse women come within a few minutes of Kunde on their trips to the weekly bazaar at Namche on Saturdays, when the clinic is closed.

A final demographic consequence is that there has been a dispersal of the population to previously unoccupied areas of Khumbu, or to sites formerly occupied only seasonally and now inhabited permanently. One example is the Syangboche area, site of the airstrip which services the Everest-View Hotel. Only one family has moved here on a permanent basis (a recently prospering Kami family from Namche) but many other Sherpas stay in Syangboche for long periods of time at the hotels, lodges, and tea shops that have sprung up there. If a piped-water system is ever devised to supply water to Syangboche (it must at present be carried from Khumjung-Kunde or from a seasonal spring above Namche) the Syangboche settlement will no doubt grow considerably.

Other examples of population dispersion are the entrepreneurs who have opened tea houses and hotels in such places as Phungi Tenga (at the bottom of the hill leading to Tengboche); and at Pheriche, Dingboche, Lobuche, and Gorak Shep - all formerly inhabited only in the summer months but now occupied the year round. A different example of the same phenomenon is the concentration of Sherpas in an area of Kathmandu (Jyatha Tole) now known only half-jokingly as Sherpa Tole.

The Future

The immediate future promises more of the same. If one or another of the dire events mentioned earlier, such as an oil embargo, were to transpire, most Sherpas would be in the fortunate position of being able to return to their traditional means of livelihood; they even state specifically that they would be happy to do so. Whether they really would be happy or not cannot be known before the event, but the more important point is that they have not burned their economic or psychological bridges

behind them. Those who have been educated would have the option of obtaining office jobs in Kathmandu and elsewhere.

The Law of Evolutionary Potential states that the more general an adaptation of an organism or population to its environment, the greater its potential to evolve into something else, whereas the more specialized the adaptation, the fewer the options available for further growth. Such specialized adaptations are inherently fragile, but Sherpas are fortunate in that their future economic options remain open. Unlike inhabitants of other parts of the world heavily involved in tourism, most Sherpas will be able, if necessary, to return to their traditional ecological niche, even if the hotel and shop owners of Namche will have several useless buildings and facilities on their hands.

There is little scope for further tourism growth in Khumbu now, primarily because RNAC is severely limited in the number of tourists it can fly to Lukla. Completion of the Lamosangu-Jiri road has probably brought a few more trekkers, but it has not broken the transportation bottleneck. The number of tourists as of the late 1970's was just under 4,000, up from 20 in 1964, and by 1985 the number had leveled off at about 5,000.⁴ In Namche hotels keep springing up to accommodate the increasing percentage of "tea-house trekkers", even though the number of tourists remains the same. If lodges are overbuilt profits will be split into an increasing number of shares, or less successful businesses will suffer at the expense of the more profitable concerns.

I have argued above that religious belief remains intact, but the population of the monastery at Tengboche has not. By 1978 there were so few monks in Tengboche that the Rimpoche had to import four monks from Thame just to have enough personnel to perform Mani-Rimdu, the biggest monastery celebration of the year. By 1985 the pendulum had swung the other way, as the improved facilities and more solid financial structure of the monastery, due to substantial contributions from foreigners and increased receipts from lodges owned by the monastery or the Rimpoche personally, made the monastic life more feasible for more monks than it had been previously, when each monk had to be self-supporting.

No carved stones for the mani walls have been commissioned for years, and Sherpas say there are fewer readings of sacred texts (a day's reading still costs 9 manas of rice, but 9 manas costs much more now than it used to). Some Sherpas think religion is stronger as a belief system now than it was in the past. I have yet to find a university educated or tourist Sherpa who does not believe in reincarnation or prostrate himself before the Rimpoche to receive his blessing. If the prolonged absence of Sherpas from their villages continues there may come a time when many of them will have had little experience of Buddhist rituals such as Mani-Rimdu. This could result in a weakening of religious sentiment, although so far this has not happened. But a religion like Buddhism requires full-time practitioners to flourish, particularly specialists who can maintain levels of purity and religiosity that lay villagers cannot possibly aspire to. The danger to

Buddhism in Khumbu lies not in the threat from other ideologies - indeed none seem to be even faintly competitive. Proselytizing efforts of Christian missionaries on Sherpa students in high schools elsewhere in Nepal have been ineffectual and even resented. The danger to the practice of Buddhism at its present high level lies in the dwindling numbers of monks in the monasteries (were the pendulum to swing back once again), which could ultimately result in an insufficient critical mass of clergy.

Conclusion

In the short run tourism is enormously popular with the Sherpas of Khumbu. Although an occasional older Sherpa will mutter ominously about what the future may bring, even such dissent acknowledges the mixed blessings that abound. Whatever misgivings exist are overshadowed by the knowledge that most Sherpas have never had it so good. But it is good the way that a honeymoon is good - it's what happens afterwards that is a cause for worry. Returning to the aims of the 5th Plan: In Khumbu the second aim (increasing employment in arts and crafts) is not being accomplished while the third one (promoting regional tourism) is. It is also possible to accomplish both aims (employment has increased, though not in arts and crafts) and still leave a residue of serious problems (e.g. ecological, political) at the local level. One may conclude, in other words, that developmentally the country is fine; it's just the people in it who are experiencing difficulties.

The Tengboche Rimpoche told me that tourists are something like the floods that plague the north Indian states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh: they just come every year and there is really not much anyone can do about it. A dam is a good flood-control device, because it can let out water in carefully controlled ways so that it can be used for constructive purposes - irrigating land, or turning turbines to produce electricity. But if the dam is dynamited, the only result is destruction. Building Lukla dynamited the dam that had held back the tourists.

NOTES

1. Rarely, tourists enter Khumbu from the Rolwaling valley (over the Teshi Lhapcha) to the west; or from the Hongu valley (over the Amphu Lhapcha or Mingbo La) to the east. These are all high and difficult passes.
2. Tilman (1952) reports an Indian-operated rain gauge in Namche Bazaar since 1984.
3. Now that the Park has been proclaimed a World Heritage Site, its authority has been increased.

4. The 4,000 tourist figure is based on records of the Police Check-post in Namche; the figure of 4,706 given by a Swiss team (see *Tourism and Development in Nepal*, 1978) is based on trekking permits issued, but so many flights to Lukla are cancelled that many treks are aborted in Kathmandu.

REFERENCES

- Bista, Dor Bahadur, 1971. "Political Innovators of Upper Kaligandaki" *Man*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 62-80, March 1971.
- Bjonness, Inger-Marie, 1979. *Impact on a High Mountain System*. Kathmandu.
- _____, 1980. "Animal Husbandry and Grazing, a Conservation and Management Problem in Sagarmatha National Park". in *Norsk Geogr. Tidsskr.* Vol. 33:59-76. Oslo.
- _____, "External Economic Dependency and Changing Human Adjustment to Marginal Environment in the High Himalaya, Nepal". *Mountain Research and Development*, Vol. 3, No. 3:263-272.
- Brower, Barbara, 1983. "Policy and Pastoralism in Sagarmatha National Park", Unpublished paper.
- Burger, Veit, 1978. *The Economic Impact of Tourism in Nepal: An Input-Output Analysis*. Ph.D. Thesis, Cornell University.
- Callimanopoulos, Dominique, 1982. "Introduction" to "The Tourist Trap, Who's Getting Caught?" *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 3, Summer.
- Dart, Francis E, and Panna Lal Pradhan, 1967. "Cross-Cultural Teaching of Science", *Science*, Vol. 155, pp. 649-656.
- Firth, Raymond, 1967. (ed.), *Themes in Economic Anthropology*. ASA Monograph 6. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph, 1960. "The Role of the Monastery in Sherpa Society", *Ethnologica*, Neue Folge Band, 2 Kommissions-Verlag, Koln, pp. 12-28.
- _____, 1964. *The Sherpas of Nepal*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____, 1975. *Himalayan Traders*. London: John Murray.
- _____, 1984. *The Sherpas Transformed*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

60 CNAS Journal, Vol. 14, No. 1 (December 1986)

Geertz, Clifford, 1963. "Modernization in a Moslem Society: The Indonesian Case", *Quest*, No. 39, October/December, pp. 9-17.

Hillary, Sir Edmund, 1964. *Schoolhouse in the Clouds*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Mason, Kenneth, 1955. *Abode of Snow*. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.

Nash, Manning, 1961. "Education in a New Nation: The Village School in Upper Burma", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*. Vol. 2, No. 2, September, pp. 135-143.

_____, 1965. "The Role of Village Schools in the Process of Cultural and Economic Modernization", *Social and Economic Studies*. Vol. 14, pp. 131-143.

_____, 1972. "Ethnicity, Centrality, and Education in Pasir Mas, Kelantan", *Comparative Education Review*. Vol. 16, No. 1, February.

Oppitz, Michael, 1968. *Geschichte und Sozialordnung der Sherpa*. Innsbruck and Munich: Universitäts Verlag Wagner.

Ortner, Sherry, 1973. "Sherpa Purity" in *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 75: pp. 49-63.

_____, 1978. *Sherpas Through Their Rituals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pawson, Ivan., Dennyse D. Stanford, and Vincanne A. Adams, 1984. "Effects of Modernization on the Khumbu Region of Nepal, Changes in Population Structure, 1970-1982". *Mountain Research and Development*. Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 73-81.

Paul, Robert A., 1983. *The Tibetan Symbolic World, Psychoanalytic Interpretations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Sherpa, Mingma Norbu, 1982. *Sherpa Culture: Way of Life, Festivals, and Religion of the Sherpa People*. A booklet published by Sagarmatha National Park. Kathmandu: Gorkhapatra Sansthan Press.

Sherpa, Mingma Norbu, 1985. *Conservation for Survival: A Conservation Strategy for Resource Self-Sufficiency in the Khumbu Region of Nepal*. M.A. Thesis, University of Winnipeg.

Sherpa, Nima Wangchu, 1979. *A Report on Firewood Use in Sagarmatha National Park*. Kathmandu.

Smith, A., 1980. *The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Srinivas, M.N., 1966. *Social Change in Modern India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Textor, Robert B., 1980. *A Handbook on Ethnographic Futures Research*, Third Edition, Version A. Stanford: School of Education and Department of Anthropology, Stanford University.
- Tilman, H.W. 1952. *Nepal Himalaya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tourism and Development in Nepal: 1978. Impacts of Trekking-Tourism in Hill Areas*. Zurich: Swiss Federal Institute of Technology.
- Zangpo, Nawang Tenzing, 1986. *The Stories and Customs of the Sherpas*. Kathmandu: (Tengboche Reincarnate Lama; Tengboche Rimpoche.)

डोटी बाइसी हो कि होइन ?

राजाराम सुवेदी

डोटी राज्यको प्राचीन नाम देवाटवी हो । देवाटवीको खास अर्थ देवताको निवास भएको अरण्यक्षेत्र हुन्छ । कालक्रमले देवाटवी बाट चौटवी > चौटी > छोटी > डोटी भएको देखिन्छ ।^१ कर्णाली प्रदेशको इतिहासमा डोटीको महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रहेको छ । डोटी प्रदेशमा प्राप्त भग्नावशेष, अभिलेख, पुरातात्विक वस्तु, वंशावली, लोकगीत, लोक इतिहास, लोकगाथाबाट त्यहाँको इतिहास पुरानो भएको कुरा प्रमाणित भएको छ । नेपालको एकीकरणकालसम्म डोटी स्वतन्त्र राज्य हुनाले त्यहाँ विभिन्न शासकहरूले शासन गरे । त्यहाँको इतिहास नेपालको इतिहास नै हो । केहीले डोटीको इतिहासलाई कुनै महत्त्व प्रदान नगरी उपेक्षा गरेका पनि छन् । यद्यपि वर्तमान नेपालको गरिमा त्यतैबाट स्थानान्तरित हुँदै आएको कुरा स्पष्ट भइसकेको छ । त्यसै परिप्रेक्ष्यमा डोटी बाइसी समूह अन्तर्गत पथर्यो वा पदैनथ्यो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट पार्ने ध्येयले प्रस्तुत लेख तयार पारी पाठक समक्ष राखिएको छ ।^२

प्राचीनकालमा डोटी कुन राज वंशको अधीनमा थियो भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट भएको छैन । यहाँको मध्यकालिक इतिहास केही स्पष्ट छ । पूर्वमध्यकालमा डोटी कर्णाली प्रदेशका मल्ल राजाहरूको अधीनमा थियो । ती राजाहरूलाई खस भनिने र डोटी सोझै केन्द्र सिजाबाट शासित प्रदेश थियो । विक्रमको बाह्रौँ शताब्दीको मध्यतिर कर्णाली प्रदेशमा खसहरूको राज्य स्थापना भएको हो । यो राज्यका संस्थापक नागराज थिए । नागराजका नवौँ पुस्तामा राजा आदित्य मल्ल भए । आदित्यमल्लकी छोरीमात्र थिए । उनकी छोरीको नाउ शकुनमाला थियो, जसलाई गेलावंशी पाल पुण्यमल्लले विवाह गरी सिंजाराज्य हत्याउन सफल भएका थिए । उनका छोरा पृथ्वीमल्ल पराक्रमी शासक भए । राजा पृथ्वीमल्लका धर्ममाला र दीपमाला नाम गरेका रानीहरू थिए । उनको राज्यकाल वि. सं. १३९५ देखि १४१५ सम्म कायम रह्यो ।^३ राजा पृथ्वीमल्लको समयसम्म सिंजाराज्यको चौतर्फी समृद्धि नै थियो ।

खस राज्य विशाल हुनाले प्रशासनिक सुविधाको निम्ति राजाहरूले ठाँउ ठाँउमा सामन्तहरू खटाएका थिए । त्यसै प्रकारले डोटी प्रदेशको प्रशासन हेर्न पृथ्वीमल्लले पाल-वंशीय नायकहरूलाई जिम्मा दिएका थिए । त्यही मौकाबाट फाइदा उठाई वि. सं. १४०९ मा निरयपालले डोटीलाई जुम्लाबाट स्वतन्त्र बनाए ।^४ राजा निरयपालपछि नागमल्ल वि. सं. १४४१-४४^५, रिपुमल्ल वि. सं. १४६९, कल्याणमल्ल वि. सं. १५०७, हरिशाही वि. सं. १६५०^६ क्रमशः डोटीका राजा भए ।

सिजाका राजा पृथ्वीमल्लको राज्यकालको उत्तरार्द्धमा डोटी स्वतन्त्र बनेको हो । राजा पृथ्वीमल्लका उत्तराधिकारी सूर्यमल्लले आफ्नो सैन्यशक्तिद्वारा आफ्नो वंशबाट मुक्त डोटी राज्यलाई पुनः सिजाकै अधीनमा ल्याएको बुझिन्छ । त्यसो गर्दा उनले अभयमल्ललाई उदुम्वरपुरीको तैनाथ दिई पठाएका हुंदा उनलाई युवराजाधिराजको रूपमा मानेको संकेत मिल्दछ ।^७ सिजाले पुनः डोटीलाई वशवर्ती पार्‍यो तापनि ऐतिहासिक महत्त्वका क्षेत्रहरूको सुरक्षा गरेको थियो । यो द्वन्द्व धेरै टिकेन, किनभने डोटीका राजा रिपुमल्लले स्वतन्त्र डोटीराज्यको सीमाना पूर्वमा त्रिशूली नुवाकोटसम्म पुर्‍याए ।^८

डोटीराज्यका संस्थापक निरयपालको केन्द्र अजयमेर थियो । त्यसैले डोटीको पहिलो राजधानी अजयमेरमा थियो जुन ठाँउ आजकल डडेलधूरा जिल्लामा पर्दछ । त्यसैगरी उकूकोट हाल दार्चुला जिल्लामा पर्दछ । तसर्थ वि. सं. १४०९ देखि नै डोटीको केन्द्र अजयमेर रह्यो जुन क्रम पुगनपुग एक शताब्दीसम्म कायमै रह्यो । त्यस बीचमा केहीकाल उकूकोटमा पनि डोटीको राजधानी रहेको बुझिन्छ । जसको समय किटान गर्न सकिएको छैन । वि. सं. १५०७ मा राजा कल्याणमल्लले दीपायलमा राजधानी सारेका थिए । यसरी राजधानी सार्नुको पछाडि एउटा जवर्जस्त ऐतिहासिक कारण रहेको छ । सो कारण हो डोटी र कुमाउका बीचको बाह्रवर्षसम्म भएको युद्ध । त्यो युद्धले डोटीको महाकाली पारिको भूभागमात्र होइन खूद अजमेर समेत छोडनु पर्‍यो । भूभागमात्र होइन डोटीको प्रशस्त जनधनको क्षति हुनुका साथै युद्धमा पराजित पनि हुनु पर्‍यो ।^९ हालको बैतडी र दार्चुला पनि सो युद्धमा डोटीले गुमाउनु पर्‍यो भने डोटीकै अधीनको बझाङ्ग वि. सं. १५०३ मा स्वतन्त्र राज्यको रूपमा श्रृजना हुन गयो । त्यो क्रम नेपालको एकीकरणसम्म कायमै रहेको बुझिन्छ । तसर्थ डोटीले आफ्नो अधीनबाट उपर्युक्त इलाकाहरू सदाको निम्ति गुमाउनु परेको हुंदा वि. सं. १५०७ पहिले र त्यसपछिको डोटीमा ठूलो अन्तर देखा पर्दछ । यसरी सर्सीर्ती हेर्दा अजयमेर र उकू कोटमा राजधानी बनाई शासन गर्ने निरयपाल, नागमल्ल, रिपुमल्ल र केही समय कल्याणमल्लले डोटी राज्य चलाएको बुझिन्छ । दीपायलमा डोटीको राजधानी भएपछि (शासन गर्ने राजाहरूमा) कल्याणमल्ल, कीर्तिमल्ल, प्रतापमल्ल, राजमल्लसम्मलाई मल्लदेव भनिएको पाइन्छ भने त्यसपछि क्रमशः महीपति शाही, रामशाही, हरिशाही, रुद्रशाही, पहाडीशाही, विक्रमशाही, मान्धाता शाही, रघुनाथ शाही, हरिशाही (द्वितीय), कृष्णशाही र दीपशाही जस्ता शाही राजाहरूले राज्यगर्दा जम्मा पन्ध्र राजाहरूले शासन गरेको बुझिन्छ । उपर्युक्त राजाहरूले आकुञ्चित डोटीराज्यको अधिकार गरेका हुंदा हालको कुमाउ, बैतडी र दार्चुलामा अर्कै शासन व्यवस्था देखा पर्दछ ।

योगी नरहरिनाथले डोटी राज्यको विस्तारकालमा रहेको चारकिल्ला वर्णन गर्दा पूर्वमा त्रिशूली, पश्चिम गढवाल, उत्तर ताक्लाखार र दक्षिणमा तराईसम्म भएको कुरा उल्लेख गर्नु भएको छ ।^{१०} उक्त वर्णनमा डोटीमाथि कुमाउँको अतिक्रमण बारे उल्लेख नहुनाले त्यो सीमा निर्धारण पहिलेको भएको कुरामा विवाद छैन । पछि आएर डोटीको

रूपै बिग्रन गई सानो हुन गएको पाइन्छ । त्यसो भए वैतडी, डडेलधूरा, दार्चुला, कैलाली र कञ्चनपुर कुन राज्य अन्तर्गत पर्दथे भन्ने प्रश्न उठ्न सक्तछ । हाल त्यस क्षेत्रमा बसोवास गर्ने जातिमा चन्द थरका ठकुरीहरू पनि पर्दछन् । उनीहरू नै त्यहाँका शासक थिए । हालसम्म उनीहरूका विषयमा खोजी गर्न बाँकी नै छ । यद्यपि त्यस क्षेत्रका चन्दहरूले आफूलाई आफू बसोवास गरेका क्षेत्रका राजा भन्ने गरेकै छन् ।^{११} त्यतिमात्रै होइन अजयमेर किल्लाको निर्माण पनि चन्दहरूले गरेको दावा गर्दछन् । हाल डडेलधूरा जिल्लामा पर्ने अजयमेरकोट पहाडी टाकुरीको दुर्गम स्थानले ३०-४० फूट अग्लो ठाउँमा जुन पराक्रम देखाई ४०-५० मनभन्दा गहुँगा १५-२० हातभन्दा लामा चौकुनै, काटिकुटि, कुँदि, चिटिक पारेका सत्तरी (बिम) देख्दा प्राचीन मिश्रको पिरामीड युगको संज्ञना हुन्छ । त्यहाँ प्रयोग गरिएका ढुंगामात्र होइन ती ढुंगामा कुँदिएका कला तयार गर्दा कति श्रम र समय लाग्यो होला भन्ने कुरा अर्कै छ । एक लेखकले त्यो अद्भुत कला कुनै बाहिरीया जातिले गरेको भन्ने कल्पना गरेका छन् ।^{१२}

अब हाम्रो मूल चर्चाको विषय छ, डोटी राज्य बाइसी राज्य समूहमा पर्थ्यो वा पर्दैनथ्यो भन्ने । त्यस विषयमा इतिहासका विद्वानहरूको तर्कलाई पनि अगाडि सार्नु उपयुक्त होला । नेपालको इतिहासमा पहिलोचोटि कलम चोप्ने अंग्रेज कर्कप्याट्रिकले बाइसी राज्यको नाम उल्लेख गर्दा डोटीको नाउ छुटाएका छन् ।^{१३} तर फ्रान्सिस बि. ह्यामिल्टनले डोटी राज्यलाई बाइसी समूहमा पर्ने शक्तिशाली राज्यको रूपमा उपस्थित गराएका छन् ।^{१४} त्यसैगरी डा. ओल्डफिल्डले डोटीलाई बाइसी मानेका छन् ।^{१५} नेपाली भाषामा पहिलो पटक नेपालको इतिहास प्रकाशन गर्ने अम्बिकाप्रसाद उपाध्यायले पनि डोटीलाई डोरी नाम दिई बाइसीराज्यका पंक्तिमा राखी सो राज्यको वर्णन गरेका छन् ।^{१६} इतिहासकार मोहनबहादुर मल्लले बाइसी राज्यको शक्तिशाली राज्य डोटीले नेपाललाई युद्धमा आत्थू आत्थू पारेको कुरा आफ्नो लेखमा प्रकाशन गरेका छन् ।^{१७} शक्तिवल्लभ अज्यालिले जयरत्नाकर नाटकमा डोटीलाई बद्रिकाश्रम तर्फ जाने तीर्थको मार्गमा पर्ने चर्चा गर्दै त्यहाँका राजा च्याउ, तामा, कोइरालो, कर्कलो, लसुन खाएर, पीना पिएर, कोदोको रोटी खाने, कोदालो, खुकुरी र बञ्चरोले तरुल, भ्याकुर खन्ने, दाही जुंगा नआएका, थेप्चो नाक, खाँडीका लुगा लगाउने, मामाकी छोरी बिहे गर्ने र मगनीका सन्तान भनी निन्दा गरेका छन् ।^{१८} डिल्लीरमण रेग्मीले डोटीलाई स्पष्टसंग बाइसी समूहमा परेको उल्लेख गरेका छन् ।^{१९}

राहूल सांकृत्यायनले डोटीलाई बाइसी समूहमा पर्ने कुराको संकेत गरेका छैनन् तापनि डोटीको व्यापक वर्णन गरेका छन् ।^{२०} कुमाउँको वर्णन गर्ने क्रममा एटकिन्सनले डोटीको वर्णन गरेका भएपनि त्यो राज्य बाइसी समूहमा पर्ने नपर्ने कुरामा मौन छन् ।^{२१} बाइसी र चौविसीको चर्चा श्री ५ पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको दिव्योपदेशमा पनि गरिएको छ तर डोटीबारे त्यहाँ चर्चा छैन ।^{२२} नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठानबाट प्रकाशित एक

कृतिमा बाइसी राज्यको चर्चा गर्दा डोटीलाई छोडिएको छ ।^{२३} त्यसैगरी रामनिवास पाण्डेज्यूले मलैवमका सन्ततिहरूले आर्जन गरेका राज्यहरूलाईमात्र बाइसी र चौविसी मान्ने सिद्धान्त प्रतिपादन गर्नु भएकोले डोटी राज्यलाई उहाँले बाइसी समूहमा ठाँउ दिनु भएको छैन ।^{२४}

उपर्युक्त पंक्तिहरूमा हामीले डोटी राज्यलाई बाइसी समूहमा सम्मिलित गर्ने र नगर्ने विद्वानहरूका कृतिको चर्चा गर्यौं । अब हामी निष्पक्षरूपले उपर्युक्त भनाइहरूको परीक्षण गरौं । डा. तुलसीराम वैद्यज्यूले यो विवादलाई टुङ्ग्याउने विषयमा बलमिल्ने लेख प्रकाशन गरी डोटीलाई बाइसीराज्यमा पर्ने ठोकुवा गर्नु भएको छ ।^{२५} यस विषयमा टुङ्गो लगाउंदा बाइसी राज्य र चौविसी राज्यको चारै दिशाको सीमानाको टुङ्गो लगाउनु पर्ने हुन्छ । इतिहास शिरोमणि वावुराम आचार्यले सखीका लेकदेखि उत्तर-पश्चिमपट्टि रहेका डोटी सम्मका राज्यहरूलाई बाइसी राज्यमा परिगणना गरेका छन् ।^{२६} एक इतिहासका लेखकले कर्णाली र गण्डकी प्रदेशको माझ खण्डलाई नै बाइसी र चौवीसी राज्यको सीमाना मान्नु भएको भएपनि ती राज्यका बीचको सीमारेखा इतिहासकार एवं भूगोलका विद्वानहरूद्वारा निश्चित गरिएको छैन ।^{२७} यद्यपि कर्णाली प्रदेश अन्तर्गत डोटी राज्य पर्दथ्यो । हुनता वावुराम आचार्यले अनुमान गरेको कुरा पूर्णतः गलत होइन तापनि लुहारपानी, ताप, अरूङ्गखोला, लिथान, जवाङ, घोडागाँउ, खुम्री, मिझिङ्ग जस्ता गाउँहरू र घाखोला, खुङ्ग्रीखोला, कुङ्ग्रीखोला, भित्रिवाङ खोलाले बाइसी राज्य रोल्पा, दाङलाई प्यूठानले छुट्याएको बुझिन्छ ।^{२८} उपर्युक्त इतिहास शिरोमणि वावुराम आचार्यको अनुमान अनुसार सखीको लेक दाङ घोराहीको उत्तरबाट शुरू भई प्यूठान र रोल्पाका बीचको धार बन्दै धवलागिरिसम्म जोडिन पुगेको छ, जसले खुम्रीलाई प्यूठानपट्टि धकेलेको छ । तर खुम्री पहिले बाइसी राजा तुथैसेन गजूलमा आँउदा उनको अधिकारमा परेको र उनका सातौं पुस्तामा राज इन्द्रपाललाई खुम्रीको अंश दिइएको कुरा वंशावलीमा उल्लेख छ ।^{२९} तसर्थ सखीको लेक बाइसी राज्यको सीमाना मान्नु कुनै औचित्य नभई प्यूठान राज्य देखि पूर्व चौवीसी र पश्चिमका बाइसी भन्नुमा केही सत्यता छ ।

बाइसी राज्यको पूर्वी सीमाना निश्चित गरेपछि त्यसको पश्चिमी सीमाना निर्धारण गर्नु पनि प्रासंगिक हुनेछ । नेपालको एकीकरण अभियानमा पश्चिम विजय गर्दा वि. सं. १८४७ मा डोटीसँग डुम्राकोट र तारिकु घाटमा लडाईं भएपछि बझाङ्ग, थलहरा र छान्ना-राज्यले नेपालसँग आश्रित सन्धि गरेकाले नेपालको सीमाना महाकालीसम्म पुग्यो । यसको तात्पर्य डोटीदेखि पश्चिमपट्टि कुनै शक्तिशाली राज्य थिएनन् ।^{३०} यसरी विचारगर्दा बाइसी राज्यको पश्चिमी सीमाना महाकाली नदी नै हो । बाइसी राज्यको पश्चिमी सीमाना महाकाली नदी भएपछि डोटी बाइसी राज्य हो कि होइन भन्ने प्रश्न उठाउन जरूरी देखिदैन । तैपनि नेपालको इतिहास लेख्ने केही विद्वानहरूले डोटीलाई छुट्टै रियाशत मान्दै आएका छन् ।

राजा मलैवम्मका सन्तानले चर्चेको राज्य मात्र बाइसी चौवीसी राज्य मान्ने हो भने गजूल, खुम्री, छिल्ली, प्यूठान, कास्की, लम्जुङ्ग, पाल्पा, नुवाकोट, तनहुँ र रिसिङ्ग जस्ता राज्यहरू बाइसी र चौवीसीमा गनौट नहुनु पर्ने देखिन्छ, तसर्थ त्यो माप पनि सत्य सावित हुँदैन । गोरखाराज्यलाई चौवीसी समूहमा नमान्नुमा, पछि श्रृजना भएको र लम्जुङ्गको खण्ड मानिएकोले, ठूलो भूमिका खेलेको बुझिन्छ । तर डोटीबारे त्यस्तो कुनै कारण छैन, जसले त्यो राज्यलाई बाइसी नभनियोस् । बरू, डोटी राज्यको बिस्तार महाकाली पारि पनि भएको हुँदा बाइसी राज्यको सीमाना महाकालीभन्दा पारि पनि पुगेको बुझिन्छ ।³¹ यस विषयमा अर्को पनि प्रमाण छ । डोटी कर्णाली प्रदेशमा पर्ने राज्य थियो वा थिएन भन्ने कुरा । डोटीको बीचबाट बग्ने सेती नदीका नाताले त्यो राज्यलाई सेती प्रदेश मान्ने हो भने बझाङ्ग र थलहरा पनि सेतीकै उत्तर र दक्षिणतर्फ पर्दछन् । तर ती दुवै राज्यलाई कर्णाली प्रदेशका बाइसी राज्य भनिन्छ । तसर्थ डोटी पनि कर्णाली प्रदेशकै बाइसी राज्य हो । यस विषयमा अर्को एक प्रश्न उठ्न सक्तछ, त्यो हो, चन्द्रहरू-द्वारा शासित बैतडी, डडेलधूरा, दार्चुला क्षेत्रलाई किन बाइसीका छुट्टै राज्यका रूपमा परिगणना गरिएन भन्ने । डोटी र कुमाउँको बाह्रवर्षे युद्धपछि डोटी क्षेत्रका बैतडी, डडेलधूरा र दार्चुलामा चन्द्रवंशीय राजाले महाकाली पारिबाट आई ठकुराई कायम गरेका थिए । दार्चुलाको मार्मा गखाँमा बझांगी सिंहवंशीय राजाहरूले ठकुराई जमाएका थिए ।³² सोही जिल्लाको लेकम गखाँमा पहिले जाडभोटेको राज्य थियो । जसलाई डोटीका राजा नागपालले हटाई आफ्नी तीनवटी रानीहरू बेतल्लदेवी, सोमल्लदेवी र लोमल्लदेवीका स्मृतिमा हरिहर मन्दिरको स्थापना गरी उककोटलाई ऐतिहासिक महत्वको क्षेत्र बनाउन सफल भएको कुरा प्रकाशमा आएको छ ।³³ राजा नागपाललाई नागमल्लका नामले डोटीको इतिहासमा चिनिन्छ, जो राजा निरयपालदेवका उत्तराधिकारी थिए ।³⁴ पछि नागपालका सन्तति फैलिँदै पालवंशीय ठान्दै श्रीपालले श्रीकोट, शाहीपालले देहीथलमा राज्यगर्दा शाहीपालले चाहिँ डांडोपरेको साङ्गुडीकोटमा राजधानी बनाए भने, भैरवपालले हाल भारतमा पर्ने अस्कोटमा गई राज्य गरेको कुरा त्यहाँको वंशावलीबाट अवगत हुन आउँछ ।³⁵ अस्कोटे राजवंशावलीमा भैरवपालको नाउ छ, जसलाई भैरवपाल भनिएको हुन सक्तछ, तर उनलाई त्यहाँ नागपालका उत्तराधिकारी नभनी भारतीपालका भनिएको छ ।³⁶ त्यसैगरी कत्युरी राजवंश कुमाउँबाट छिन्नभिन्न भएपछि त्यसैवंशका त्रिलोचन-देवका खानदानी निरञ्जनदेवले डोटीमा राज्यगर्न थालेका थिए । अभयपालले त्यसै समयमा अस्कोटमा राज्य स्थापना गरेको बुझिन्छ । त्यस्ता प्रकृतिका छवटा स्वतन्त्र राज्य खडा भएका र निरयपाललाई निरञ्जनपाल भनिएको जस्तो लक्षण बुझिन्छ ।³⁷ एक वंशावलीमा भारतको सिरमारेबाट बाह्रौँ शताब्दीताका कुमाउँ हुँदै आएका कुल्लेलकोटका पहिला राजा रन्धौलो भनिएको छ ।³⁸

त्यसैगरी बैतडीको ठीक गखाँमा पनेरू ब्राह्मणहरू राजा थिए । यसको कारण डडेलधूरा अजयमेरूकोटका राजा हरिशाही रैकाले चन्द्रहरूलाई आफ्नो अधीनमा पारी

चन्द्रहरूका ठाउँमा गंगा पनेरुका छोरा नारद पनेरुलाई हतकिर्ता बनाई दिएका थिए।^{३९} नारद पनेरुका पांचपुस्तापछि हरि पनेरुका समयमा बैतडीका चन्द्रहरूले पुनः ढीक गर्वा माथि अधिकार गर्ने हेतुले कुमाउलेराजा उद्योतचन्द्रसंग सैनिक सहयोग लिई पनेरुको राज्य खोसेका थिए । त्यसरी पनेरुबाट चन्द्रहरूको शासन गराउने व्यक्तिहरू त्रिलोकी चन्द्र र बिभोगी चन्द्र थिए ।^{४०} यसबारेको संकेत देवकान्त पन्तले पनि उठाएको पाइन्छ ।^{४१} बैतडी पाटन सूरनया नदीदेखि पारिको डांडामा सखौडकोट छ जो टल्कने हुंदा ताराकोट नामले चिनिन्छ । त्यहाँ खेमचन्द्र राजा थिए । भनिन्छ, उनले जुम्लासिजाकी राजकुमारी विवाह गरेका थिए । तर एकदिन आफ्नो भण्डारेकी पत्नीसंग स्नेह बढ्न जाँदा भण्डारेको छोरोको शिकार जाँदा हत्या गरे । खेमचन्द्रलाई पनि काजीहरूले शिकारकै समयमा चाँद-मारीगरी मारे । खेमचन्द्रकी रानीको नाउ तारारानी थियो । आफ्ना पतिको हत्यापछि पनि रानीले प्रत्यक्ष शासन गरिन् । आफ्ना सन्तान नहुँदा उनका देवर त्रिमलचन्द्रका छोरा त्रिलोकी चन्द्र र त्यसपछि जैतु चन्द्रलाई सखौड वा ताराकोटको राजा बनाएको थाहा हुन्छ । उनीपछि क्रमशः जशुचन्द्र → बागुचन्द्र त्यहाँका राजा भएका थिए ।^{४२} यसरी बैतडी, डडेलधूरा र दार्चुलामा पहिल्यैदेखि चन्द्र खानदानी ठकुरीहरूले ससाना रियासतको शासन चलाएका थिए । कैलाली, कञ्चनपुरतर्फ घनाजंगलका साथै औलो लाग्ने डर हुनाले बस्ती-योग्य मानिदैनथ्यो । उपर्युक्त प्रदेशहरूमा चन्द्रशासकहरूको वर्णन सुनिन्थ्यो तापनि महाकाली पूर्वतर्फ डोटीकै रवाफ थियो । तसर्थ नेपालको एकीकरणमा डोटी विजय गर्दासाथ महाकाली नदी सीमाना बन्न गएको हो । तलको ऐतिहासिक तथ्यांकले डोटीलाई बाइसी राज्य मान्न बल मिल्छ ।

डोटी राज्यको स्वतन्त्रता स्थापना भएको शाके: १२७४ ।

डोटी र कुमाउँको बाह्र वर्षे युद्ध प्रारंभ र अन्त्य शाके: १३५९-१३७१ ।

राजा मलैवम्मको राज्यकाल र खसराज्यको अन्त्य शाके: १३००-१३११ ।

उपर्युक्त तथ्यांक प्रस्तुत गर्नुको तात्पर्य राजा मलैवम्मको राज्यकाल स्थापनापूर्व नै डोटी स्वतन्त्र भएको (र मलैवम्म) २६ वर्ष पछिमात्र जुम्लाको इतिहासमा राजाका रूपमा देखा परेका छन् । मलैवम्म राजा भएको ५९ वर्षपछि डोटीको कुमाउँसंग युद्ध प्रारंभ भई बाह्रवर्षसम्म रहेको बुझिन्छ । सो बाह्रवर्षे युद्धपछि महाकाली पारिका चन्द्रहरू बैतडी, डडेलधूरा र दार्चुलामा प्रवेश गरे तापनि डोटीको आधिपत्य महाकालीसम्म रहेको बुझिन्छ । तर बझाङ्ग कुमाउँको आडले डोटीबाट स्वतन्त्र बन्न पुग्छ भने थलारा डोटीको सामन्त राज्यको रूपमा देखा परेको छ । तसर्थ डोटी बाइसी समूहभित्र पर्ने राज्य हो त्यस समूहमा सम्मिलित नभएको राज्य होइन । पहिले डोटीको अधीनमा बझाङ्ग र बाजुरा पनि पर्ने तर कालक्रमले उनीहरू स्वतन्त्र बन्न सफल भए । छान्ना छुट्टै राज्य थिएन, त्यो थलारा राज्यको अधीनमा पर्दथ्यो । छान्नालाई हाल बझाङ्ग जिल्लाको भकारि भनिन्छ ।

निम्नलिखित कारणहरूबाट डोटीलाई बाइसी राज्य मान्न सकिन्छः

१. कर्णाली प्रदेशको उत्तरमध्यकालिक इतिहासमा बाइसी भन्नाले रापती पश्चिम र महाकाली पूर्वको भूभाग पर्ने हुँदा डोटी राज्य स्वतः बाइसी राज्यसमूहमा पर्न जान्छ ।
२. इतिहास शिरोमणि वावुराम आचार्यले कुमाउँदेखि सल्यान सम्मका ठाकुरहरूमा साहसीहरूले सखीकोलेक पारगरेर ठकुराहरू स्थापना गरेका भनी कल्पनाका भरमा अंधारोमा चांदामारी गरेका भएपनि डोटी राज्य बाइसीमा गणना हुन्थ्यो भन्ने कुराको स्वतः पुष्टि हुन गएको छ ।^{४३}
३. अम्बिकाप्रसाद उपाध्यायले आफ्नो कृतिमा महाकाली, कर्णाली र शिंगरक (रापती) बीचको भूभागलाई बाइसीदून नामकरण गरेबाट पनि डोटी राज्य महाकाली पूर्व पर्ने हुँदा बाइसी समूहमा पर्दछ ।^{४४}
४. श्री रामनिवास पाँडिले झैं मलयवम्मका सन्तानहरू राजाभएका राज्यलाईमात्र बाइसी र चौवीसी मान्ने हो भने गण्डकी र कर्णाली प्रदेशको उत्तरमध्यकालिक इतिहासमा परिवर्तन भई हालको उचित मान्यतामा खल्लैवला पर्छ । तर डोटीलाई बाइसी राज्य-का रूपमा मान्दा त्यो समस्यामा अनावश्यक मस्तिष्क र श्रम खर्च्योउनु पर्दैन ।^{४५}
५. गोरखा राज्यको श्रृजना र डोटीका श्रृजनाको प्रकृतिमा व्यापक अन्तर हुँदा गोरखा-लाई चौवीसीमा सम्मिलित नगरिए झैं डोटीलाई बाइसीमा सम्मिलित गर्न नमिल्ने त्यस्तो कुनै ज्वलन्त कारण नहुँदा डोटी बाइसी समूहभित्र पर्ने शक्तिशाली राज्यको रूपमा स्वीकार्दा ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिबाट त्रुटि भएको ठहर्दैन ।

टिप्पणीहरूः

१. देवकान्त पन्त, डोटेली लोक साहित्य एक अध्ययन (काठमाडौँ: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३२), पृष्ठ, १२ ।
२. डोटी हाल नेपालको सुदूरपश्चिमाञ्चल क्षेत्रको सेती अञ्चलमा पर्छ । काठमाडौँबाट धेरै टाढापर्ने र त्यहाँको ऐतिहासिक खोजी राम्ररी नभइसकेको हुँदा त्यहाँको प्राचीन इतिहासबारे थाहा भएको छैन । नेपालका अनुसन्धान केन्द्रले त्यतापट्टि पनि ध्यान दिन सके केही नयाँ कुरा उद्घाटन हुने निश्चित छ ।
३. G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome: IsMEO, 1956), PP. 53-60.

७० सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, भोलम १४, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८६)

४. रमेशजङ्ग थापा (संपादक) प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या ३०-३९ (माघ, २०३१, वैशाख २०३४), पृष्ठ १२३ । शंकरमान राजवंशी, 'सेती महाकाली भ्रमणको ऐतिहासिक सारांश' प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या ३०-३९ (माघ, २०३१, वैशाख २०३४) पृष्ठ १२० । विश्वनाथ भट्टराई, 'प्राचीन डोटी राज्यको राजनैतिक तथा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास' प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या ३०-३९ (माघ, २०३१, वैशाख २०३४), पृष्ठ, ४६ ।
५. ऐजन (विश्वनाथ भट्टराई) ।
६. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १, पृष्ठ, ८६ ।
७. राजाराम सुवेदी, बझाङ्गका बाह्र अभिलेखहरू *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (June, 1979) PP. 73-91-93. रमेशजङ्ग थापा, प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या ४१-४२ (श्रावण-कार्तिक २०३५) पृष्ठ ५ ।
८. धनवज्र बज्राचार्य र टेकवहादुर श्रेष्ठ, नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३२), पृष्ठ ४२-४३ । राजाराम सुवेदी, पूर्ववर्णित टिप्पणी ७, पृष्ठ, ७८-७९ ।
९. राहुल सांकृत्यायन, कुमाजं (वाराणसी: ज्ञानमण्डल लिमिटेड, २०१५), पृष्ठ ७०-७२ । Atkinson, Edwin T. *Kumaon Hills* (Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 1974), PP. 528-530.
१०. योगी नरहरिनाथ, इतिहास प्रकाश दोश्रो अंक पहिलो भाग (काठमाडौं: इतिहास प्रकाश मण्डल, २०१२), पृष्ठ, ३३८-३३९ । विश्वनाथ भट्टराई, पूर्ववर्णित टिप्पणी, ४, पृष्ठ, ३९ ।
११. बैतडी जिल्ला गाजरी गा. पं. वार्ड नं. १ का स्व. रणवहादुर चन्द संग भएको कुरा-कानीबाट । उनी भू. पू. बैतडी जि. पं. सभापतिका साथै पुराना ऐतिहासिक सामग्री-हरूका संग्रहकर्ता पनि थिए ।
१२. जितसिंह भण्डारी, महाकाली अञ्चलको संक्षिप्त परिचय (कञ्चनपुर: महेन्द्रनगर, जीतसिंह भण्डारी, २०३७), पृष्ठ ३ ।
१३. Colnol Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, (Delhi: Asian Publishing Series, 1975), PP. 280.
१४. F.B. Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1971), PP. 276-279.
१५. H. Ambrose Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974), PP. 22-23.

१६. अम्बिकाप्रसाद उपाध्याय, नेपालको इतिहास (काशी: अम्बिकाप्रसाद उपाध्याय, १९७९ वि. सं.), पृष्ठ ५ ।
१७. मोहनवहादुर मल्ल, 'बाइसी चौबीसी परिचय' नेपाली, पूर्णक ६६, (माघ, फागुन, चैत २०३२), पृष्ठ १० ।
१८. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र ज्ञानमणि नेपाल (संपादक), जयरत्नाकरनाटक (काठमाडौं: सांस्कृतिक संस्थान, २०१४ वि. सं.), पृष्ठ ४७-५० ।
१९. (2) Doti in the Extreme West, South of Jumla Covering the Middle Ranges of that Part of the Sub-Himalayan Region: D.R. Regmi, *Modern Nepal*, Vol. 1 (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1975), PP. 2-3 and 9.
२०. राहुल, सांकृत्यायन, कुमाऊं (वाराणसी: ज्ञानमण्डल लिमिटेड, २०२५) पृष्ठ ७०-७२ ।
२१. Atkinson Edwin T. *Kumaon Hills*, (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974), PP. 528-531.
२२. योगी नरहरिनाथ, श्री ५ वडामहाराजापृथ्वीनारायण शाहको दिव्य उपदेश (काठमाडौं: पृथ्वी जयन्ती समारोह समिति, २०१०), पृष्ठ ९ ।
२३. ढुण्डिराज भण्डारी, (संपादक), नेपालको इतिहासका पांच स्वर्णम पृष्ठ (काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, २०३९), पृष्ठ ६४ ।
२४. Ram Niwas Pande, "The Rise and Development of the Baisi States", *Ancient Nepal*, No. 17 (October, 1971) PP. 52-7.
२५. डा. तुलसीराम वैद्य, नेपालको इतिहासका पांच स्वर्णम पृष्ठ (काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, २०३९), पृष्ठ ५० ।
२६. वावुराम आचार्य, श्री ५ वडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको संक्षिप्त जीवनी (नेपाल: श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजका प्रमुख सम्वाद सचिवालय, राजदरवार, २०२६), पृष्ठ ६४२ ।
२७. टेकवहादुर श्रेष्ठ, पर्वत राज्यको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र त्रि. वि. २०४२), पृष्ठ ३ ।
२८. रोल्पा जिल्ला, खुम्री गा. पं. वार्ड नं. ४ खुम्रेल राजाका कान्छाभाई सूर्यप्रचण्ड सेन-संग रहेको वंशावली पाण्डुलिपिमा उल्लिखित वर्णन अनुसार ।

- ७२ सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, भोलम १४, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८६)
२९. ऐजन ।
३०. तोत्रराज पाण्डेय, नयराज पन्त, नेपालको संक्षिप्त इतिहास (काशी: तोत्र राज पाण्डे, २००४), पृष्ठ १०६ । सोमध्वज विष्ट, शाही शैनिक इतिहास (वाराणसी: चौ. नारायणजङ्ग शाह, नरेन्द्रमानसिंह वस्न्यात, २०२०), पृष्ठ ४० ।
३१. हालसम्म पनि महाकालीपारि नेपालका दोधारा र चांदनी नाउंका दुई गांउ पञ्चायत छंदै छन् । शंकरमान राजवंशी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी ४, पृष्ठ १२०-२१ ।
३२. जितसिंह भण्डारी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १२, पृष्ठ २६ ।
३३. ऐजन, पृष्ठ २७ । अर्की रल्लदेवी पनि रानी थिइन्, देवकान्त पन्त, पृष्ठ ८३ ।
३४. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १, पृष्ठ ८६ ।
३५. जितसिंह भण्डारी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १२, पृष्ठ २७ ।
३६. Atkinson, Edwin T. *op. cit*, footnote 9, P. 531.
३७. जितसिंह भण्डारी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १२, पृष्ठ २७ । सत्यमोहन जोशी, कर्णाली लोक संस्कृति भाग २ इतिहास (काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान, २०२८) पृष्ठ २१६-२१८ ।
३८. भण्डारी, ऐजन, पृष्ठ ३२-३३ । सो वंशावलीमा रन्धौलो → सुजान धौलो → गुरू-धौलो → केलान धौलो → कैल धौलो → मकैल धौलो → सैपाल → धौपाल → खडानजल → खडदेउ → वडदेउ → सौरदेउ - सौरदेउका तीन छोरा उदयदेउ वैतडी पाटनका राजा भए, रानादेउ वैतडीका राजा, भानादेउ दैलेखका राजा भएका थिए । वैतडीका राजा रानादेउका छोरा कर्मचन्द गर्भचन्द शोविचन्द भए । कर्मचन्दका छोरा कल्याणचन्द → रनिचन्द → विभागचन्द भाइ कालाचन्द → सोविचन्द → मेगीचन्द → रामचन्द अन्तिम राजा मानिन्छन् । रामचन्दका छोरा शाइचन्द, श्रीचन्द सुन्दरचन्द र विभोचन्द भए भनिएको छ ।
३९. नारद पनेरुका सन्ततिहरू क्रमशः जगु पनेरु → रिपु पनेरु → प्रताप पनेरु → केशरी पनेरु → हरि पनेरु ढीकका राजा भए ।
४०. जितसिंह भण्डारी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी, १२, पृष्ठ ३४ ।
४१. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १, पृष्ठ १२९ ।
४२. जितसिंह भण्डारी, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १२, पृष्ठ ३९-४० ।

४३. वावुराम आचार्य, श्री ५ वडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहको संक्षिप्त जीवनी
भाग १ (काठमाडौं: श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजको प्रमुख सम्वाद सचिवालय, राज-
दरबार, २०२४) पृष्ठ ४६-४७ । वावुराम आचार्य, 'डोटीको ऐतिहासिक झलक'
हाम्रो नेपाली वर्ष १, अंक ६, (मासिक, २०१२ वि. सं.) पृष्ठ हेर्न नपाएको ।
४४. अम्बिकाप्रसाद उपाध्याय, पूर्ववर्णित, टिप्पणी १६, पृष्ठ ४-५ ।
४५. श्रीरामनिवास पाण्डे ज्यूले डोटीलाई बाइसी नमानी छुट्टै राज्यका रूपमा उपस्थित
गर्नु भएको छ ।

‘वर्षकृन्ति’ : एक अप्रकाशित व्यासफू

धनवज्र वज्राचार्य
CNAS/TU

हाम्रो यहाँ ‘ताडपत्र’ धेरै कालसम्म लेखनसामग्रीको रूपमा लोकप्रिय रह्यो । ठूलठूला ग्रन्थहरू पनि ताडपत्रमा लेखिएका पाइन्छन् । साथै घरखेत किनबेच गर्दा निस्सा-स्वरूप दिइने ‘लेख्य’ पत्रहरू ताडपत्रमा लेख्ने चलन पनि पछिसम्म रह्यो¹ । यसरी प्रशासनिक अङ्ग पनि ताडपत्र बनेथ्यो । यसरी एक लामो कालसम्म नै ताडपत्र लेखनसामग्रीको रूपमा रह्यो । जसलाई हामी ‘ताडपत्रयुग’ नै भन्न सक्छौं । पछि ताडपत्रको स्थान कागतले लियो । स्थायित्वको केही कमी रहे तापनि कागत ताडपत्रभन्दा सजिलोसँग लेख्न हुने सुविधाजनक रूपको छ । जुनसुकै आकार प्रकारको पनि बनाउन सकिने सुविधा पनि यसमा छ । यस्तै गुणले कागत बढी लोकप्रिय बन्यो र कागतको युग शुरू भयो ।

हाम्रो यहाँ गुठी आदिमा प्रतिवर्ष आवश्यक कुरा टिपोट गर्दै जाने चलन छ । यस्ता टिपोटहरू भिन्नाभिन्नै पत्रहरूमा टिपोट गर्दा ती पत्रहरू हराउने सम्भावना हुन्छ । यसो हुनाले लामो कागतलाई प्याई ‘व्यासफू’ को स्वरूप दिने चलन चल्यो । हेर्दा साधारण पुस्तिका, पुस्तक जस्तै पत्र पत्र रूपका हुन्छन् तापनि प्याई बनाइएको हुनाले पत्रहरू हराउने डर भने यसमा हुँदैन । यस कारण सुरक्षाको दृष्टिले, सुविधाको दृष्टिले व्यासफू उपयोगी रह्यो ।

प्याई बनाइएका जुनसुकै विषयका पुस्तिकाहरू पनि ‘व्यासफू’ हुन् तापनि ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको सिलसिलामा ‘व्यासफू’ अलि बेग्लै रूपमा रूढ भएको छ । ‘व्यासफू’ भनेपछि तात्कालिक घटना टिपिएका टिपोट-पुस्तिका भन्ने बुझिन्छ । २०१० सालभन्दा अगाडिसम्म ऐतिहासिक सामग्रीको सिलसिलामा ‘व्यासफू’ को कुनै महत्त्व प्रकाशमा आएको थिएन । २०१० सालमा ठिमीनिवासी चन्द्रमान जोशीज्यूको संग्रहमा रहेको व्यासफू पाइएपछि व्यासफूको महत्त्व बढेको हो^२ । कान्तिपुरका राजा प्रतापमल्लको मृत्युपछि तात्कालिक राजकाजमा ‘चौतारा’ युगको कसरी शुरुआत भयो; उपत्यकाका तीन मल्लराज्यमा कस्तो घातप्रतिघात चलिरहे; तिनमा गोरखा, तनहुँ, मकवानपुर आदि कसरी संलग्न रहे आदि धेरै नयाँ कुरा मितितथिसहित प्रामाणिक रूपमा सो व्यासफूबाट ज्ञात भए । यसबाट व्यासफूको स्वतः महत्त्व बढ्यो । अनि व्यासफूको खोजीमा विद्वान्हरू संलग्न हुन थाले । यसको फलस्वरूप अरू व्यासफू पनि प्रकाशमा आए^३ ।

प्रकाशमा आएका व्यासफूहरू प्रायः राजनैतिक घटनाहरू टिपिएका नै बढी परेका छन् । तर राजनैतिक बाहेक सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक कुरा टिपिएका व्यासफूहरू पनि प्रशस्त

पाइएका छन् । तात्कालिक सांस्कृतिक र आर्थिक कुरा बुझ्ने ती व्यासफूहरू पनि निकै उपयोगी छन् । यसकारण छानबीन गरी त्यस्ता व्यासफूहरूलाई पनि प्रकाशमा ल्याउनु वाञ्छनीय छ भन्ने स्पष्ट छ । त्यसै क्रममा यो अप्रकाशित व्यासफू पाठकको सामुन्ने राख्दैछु ।

यस व्यासफूको मुखपृष्ठमा 'वर्षकृत्ति' भन्ने शीर्षक दिइएको छ । यसबाट वर्ष दिनसम्म गर्नुपर्ने काम कुराको टिपौट यसमा गरिएको छ भन्ने संकेत पाइन्छ । हुन पनि चैत्रशुक्लबाट थाली फाल्गुन कृष्ण (पूर्णान्तमानले चैत्रकृष्ण) सम्म गर्नुपर्ने प्रमुख धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक चाड पर्वको टिपौट यसमा गरिएको छ । यसैले यस व्यासफूको नामकरण 'वर्षकृत्ति' भनी गरिएको देखिन्छ । वर्ष शुरू गर्दा यहाँ कार्तिकदेखि शुरू नगरी चैत्रदेखि शुरू गरिएको छ । यसरी कार्तिकादि परम्पराको अनुसरण यहाँ गरिएको छैन ; चैत्रादि परम्पराको अनुसरण गरिएको छ ।

यस व्यासफूमा संवत्को उल्लेख कतै गरिएको छैन । राजाको नामोल्लेख पनि कतै परेको छैन । उपत्यकाका तीन मल्ल राज्यमध्ये कहां यो टिपिएको हो भन्ने स्पष्ट उल्लेख पनि यसमा परेको छैन । तर यसमा टिपौट गरिएका कुरा केलाई हेर्नौं भने यो कान्तिपुरमा टिपिएको हो ; प्रतापमल्लपछि अर्थात् मल्लकालको अन्तिम चरणतिर यो टिपिएको हो भन्ने पनि थाहा पाइन्छ । यो साधारण जनतातर्फबाट टिपिएको नभएर राजदरबारतर्फबाट टिप्न लाइएको हो भन्ने पनि यसको बेहोराबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस व्यासफूमा कवीन्द्रपुर, प्रतापपुर, अनन्तपुरमा पूजा पठाउने चर्चा परेको छ । कान्तिपुरका प्रसिद्ध राजा प्रतापमल्ल आफूलाई 'कवीन्द्र' भन्न मन पराउँथे । उनको उपनाम नै 'कवीन्द्र' रहेथ्यो । 'कवीन्द्रपुर' नै सं. ७९३ (वि. सं. १७३०) तिर प्रतापमल्लले बनाउन लाएका हुन्^४ । स्वयम्भूमा रहेका प्रतापपुर र अनन्तपुर आफ्नो नाउँ र रानी अनन्तप्रियाको नाउँमा नै. सं. ७७५ (वि. सं. १७१२) मा उनले बनाउन लाएका हुन्^५ । यस कारण यो व्यासफू प्रतापमल्लपछि टिपिएको हो भन्ने थाहा पाइन्छ । यहाँ प्रयुक्त लिपिबाट पनि उक्त कुराको पुष्टि हुन्छ ।

राजदरबारमा कुन दिन कस्तो विधान गर्नुपर्छ ; कहां कस्तो पूजा भाग राजदरबारबाट पठाउनुपर्छ भन्ने संझनाको लागि यो टिपौट गरिएको हो । यस कारण यहाँ सांस्कृतिक विधानको खुलस्त विवरण परेको छैन ; संक्षिप्त टिपौट मात्र परेको छ । संक्षिप्त भए पनि यो टिपौट तात्कालिक केही सांस्कृतिक कुरा प्रामाणिक रूपमा बुझ्न उपयोगी छ । मल्ल राजाहरूको सांस्कृतिक मूल थलो भक्तपुर हो । यस कारण विशेष पर्वको दिन पूजाभाग भक्तपुर पठाइन्थ्यो । यस कुराको चर्चा यस व्यासफूमा ठाउँ ठाउँमा परेको छ । विशेष पर्वको दिन पूजाभाग पठाई पूजा गरिने भक्तपुरका देवताहरूमा दुमाजु, वंकुलि, मानेश्वरी, तलेजु, भैरव आदि पर्दछन् । यसबाट राजनैतिक दृष्टिले कान्तिपुर एक स्वतन्त्र राज्य भए पनि सांस्कृतिक दृष्टिले भक्तपुरसंग निकै सम्बद्ध थियो भन्ने कुराको झलक पाइन्छ । साथै ललितपुरसंग पनि केही सांस्कृतिक सम्बन्ध कायम थियो भन्ने पनि यस व्यासफूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ ।

यस व्यासफूमा ‘विश्वजात्रा’ देखि टिपोट शुरू गरिएको छ । ‘विश्वजात्रा’ भनी बिस्केटलाई लक्ष्य गरिएको हो । यस अवसरमा गाडिने लिङ्गगोलाई ‘विश्वकेतु’ भन्ने चलन छ । यसै कारण यस जात्राको नाम ‘विश्वजात्रा’ रहन गएको हो । बिस्केट जात्रा भक्तपुर-भेकमा बढी धूमधामसंग मनाइन्छ । वैशाख संक्रान्तिको दिन मुख्य गरी यो पर्व मनाइन्छ । तापनि यसको सिलसिला चैतदसैदेखि नै शुरू हुन्थ्यो भन्ने संकेत यस व्यासफूबाट पाइन्छ । यहाँ ‘स्याको त्याको’ ‘कुलुकयात’ आदिको उल्लेख विश्वजात्राकै सिलसिलामा गरिएको छ । हाल काठमाडौँमा ‘विश्वजात्रा’ साधारण रूपमा मात्र गरिन्छ । तर मल्लकालमा काठमाडौँमा पनि ‘विश्वजात्रा’ विशेष रूपमा गरिन्थ्यो भन्ने कुरा यस व्यासफूबाट थाहा पाइन्छ । यस कुराको पुष्टि अन्य स्रोतबाट पनि हुन्छ ।

यसपछि चैत्र शुक्ल एकादशीको दिन गरिने ‘दुदुपूजा’ विधानको चर्चा यस व्यासफूमा गरिएको छ । अहिले भने यो उल्लेखनीय रहेको देखिंदैन ।

तीनै मल्ल राज्यका तलेजु स्थानमा तान्त्रिक पद्धतिले गरिने ‘थापूजा’ को निकै महत्त्व रहेको छ । मल्ल राजाहरूले यस पूजामा निकै श्रद्धा देखाएको हामी पाउँछौं^९ । शाहकालमा पनि यो पूजा यथावत् कायम रहेको पाइन्छ । कान्तवती बिरामी हुँदा स्वामी रणबहादुर शाहले कान्तिपुर, भक्तपुरका तलेजुमा थापूजाको लागि प्रशस्त गुठी राख्न लाएका थिए । तात्कालिक ताम्रपत्रहरूबाट यो कुरा थाहा पाइन्छ^८ । यस व्यासफूमा पनि थापूजा गराउने कुराको उल्लेख ठाउँ ठाउँमा परेको छ ।

यसपछि ‘चम्पक’ फूलद्वारा गरिने रोचक पूजाविधानको चर्चा यस व्यासफूमा परेको छ । ज्येष्ठमा गरिने सो पूजाविधान निकै व्यापक रूपमा गरिन्थ्यो । काठमाडौँका भीमसेन द्रौपदी, कवीन्द्रपुरका जगन्नाथ नाय्केश्वर नरसिंह, हरसिद्धि, राता मछिन्द्रनाथ, स्वयम्भू, प्रतापपुर, अनन्तपुर, पशुपतिनाथ, चांगुनारायण, वज्रयोगिनी, दुमाजु, भक्तपुरका मानेश्वरी तलेजु आदि ठाउँमा चाँपको फूल राखी विशेष पूजा पठाइन्थे । यसरी उपत्यका-भित्रीका शैव, बौद्ध, वैष्णव, शाक्त आदि सबै धार्मिक सम्प्रदायका प्रख्यात देवताहरूका यो पूजा गरिन्थ्यो । यसरी मल्लकालमा रहेको धार्मिक सहिष्णुताको परम्परालाई पनि यसले प्रकारान्तरले देखाएको छ ।

श्रावण शुक्ल द्वादशीको दिन चांगुनारायण हनुमान्ढोका राजदरबारमा भित्र्याइने जात्रा अहिलेसम्म प्रचलित छ । त्यसदिन लक्ष्मी र सरस्वतीसहित चांगुनारायणका प्रतीकस्वरूप चाँदीका तीन कलश राजकीय सन्मानसाथ गुणपो दरबारमा भित्र्याइन्छ र पूजाआजा गरिन्छ^{१०} । यस जात्राको उल्लेख गोपालराजवंशावलीमा परेको छ^{१०} । यस व्यासफूमा पनि उक्त दिन चांगुनारायण भित्र्याउँदा गरिने केही विधानको टिपोट परेको छ । यसै गरी पौष शुक्ल पूर्णिमाको दिन पनि चांगुनारायण हनुमान्ढोका भित्र्याइने विधान सम्पन्न गरिन्छ^{११} । त्यसको पनि उल्लेख यस व्यासफूमा परेको छ ।

प्रसिद्ध गाईजात्रा पर्वको उल्लेख भने यस व्यासफूमा परेको छैन ।

मल्लकालमा 'इन्द्रजात्रा' विशेष रूपमा मनाइन्थ्यो । यस कुराको उल्लेख तात्कालिक अरू व्यासफू, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, अभिलेख आदिमा परेको छ । यस व्यासफूमा पनि इन्द्रजात्राको चर्चा परेको छ । तर इन्द्रजात्राताका गरिने विधानको विशेष चर्चा भने यस व्यासफूमा परेको छैन ।

भाद्रकृष्ण तृतीयाको दिन गरिने 'महालक्ष्मीव्रत' मल्लकालदेखि नै यहाँ निकै लोकप्रिय रहेको छ । यसलाई 'तृतीयाव्रत' 'वसुन्धराव्रत' भन्ने पनि चलन छ । स्थितिमल्लले राजल्लदेवीसँग महालक्ष्मीव्रत बसेको उल्लेख गोपालराजवंशावलीमा परेको छ^{१२} । यस व्यासफूमा पनि महालक्ष्मीव्रतको उल्लेख आएको छ । तर खुलाएर भने केही लेखिएको छैन ।

मल्लकालमा वर्षभरि मनाइने चाडपर्वमा 'दसैं' को सबभन्दा बढी महत्त्व रहेको थियो । हाल पनि सो महत्त्व कायमै छ । खड्गस्थापना खड्गचालन आदि विधान साइत हेरी गर्नुपर्ने हुनाले तीन मल्लराज्यमा साइतको कुरालाई लिई मतभेद पनि बराबर भइरहन्थ्यो^{१३} । तात्कालिक व्यासफू, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ आदिमा दसैं सम्बन्धी अनेक टिपोट टिपिएका पाइएका छन् । यस व्यासफूमा पनि दसैंसम्बन्धी टिपोट विशेष रूपमा गरिएको छ । घटस्थापनादेखि चालनसम्मका हनुमान्ढोका दरबारमा गरिने दसैंका विधानको चर्चा यसमा परेको छ । मल्लकालमा हनुमान्ढोका दरबारमा दसैं कसरी मनाइन्थ्यो भन्ने अध्ययन गर्न यो भाग निकै उपयोगी छ ।

'तिहार' पनि मल्लकालमा विशेष रूपमा मनाइन्थ्यो । यस कुराको चर्चा तात्कालिक स्रोतमा पाइन्छ^{१४} । यस व्यासफूमा भने तिहारको विशेष चर्चा परेको छैन । आश्विन-कृष्ण (पूर्णान्त मानले कार्तिक कृष्ण) अमावासीको दिन 'लक्ष्मीपूजा' भन्ने उल्लेख मात्र यहाँ गरिएको छ । अरू कुरा खुलाएर लेखिएको छैन । कार्तिक शुक्ल प्रतिपदाको दिन 'सगौने' भनी 'हृत्पूजा' को सामान्य उल्लेख गरिएको छ । अरू खुलाएर लेखिएको छैन । 'भाइटीका' को त उल्लेखसम्म पनि गरिएको छैन ।

यसै गरी यस व्यासफूमा स्वयम्भूपूजा, नोफेनेपूजा, जतलपूजा, बुसाधनपूजा आदि पूजाविधानको चर्चा परेको छ; केही 'यात' (जात्रा) को पनि उल्लेख परेको छ । यहाँ उल्लिखित 'यात' हरूमा 'वस्त्र हेलेयात' रोचक छ । कुन देवताको कस्तो रङ्गको वस्त्र भन्ने ज्ञान यो भाग केही उपयोगी छ ।

अन्त्यमा पिसाच चतुर्दशीको चर्चा यसमा गरिएको छ । यो चाडपर्व पनि मल्लकालमा विशेष रूपमा मनाइन्थ्यो । यस कुराको झलक यस व्यासफूबाट पनि पाइन्छ ।

यसरी मल्लकालको धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक केही कुरा अध्ययन गर्न यो सानो व्यासफू केही उपयोगी छ भन्ने स्पष्ट छ । यसै हुँदा यसलाई पाठकको सामू प्रस्तुत गरिएको हो ।

मूल पाठ

१ वर्णकृत्ति

(१)

१. ॐ नमः गणेशायः ॥ चैत्रशुक्ल, ॥ विश्वजात्राया, खंप्वस, स्वान केपो-
२. ल छोय ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरी ॥ पोल १
३. पिथु ॥ पोल १ सकलभिं ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ थ्वकंथनं जोपयके ॥ दं १४
४. ग्वय ३५ दुगु हं ३ ॥ थ्वते, स्याकोत्याक्व, न्हथु कुन्हु खंप्वस छोय ॥ ॥
५. तवदेवलस, स्याकोत्याको कुन्हु, थापूजा याय ॥ दुमाजुस्के, पंचबलि जुक्व
६. उपल ॥ ॥ कुलुकयात कुन्हु, खंप्वस स्वानकेपोल छोय ॥ पोल ८ दं ४

(२)

१. ग्वय ५ ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुल ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरीस्त ॥ पोल
२. १ पिथु ॥ पोल १ तुपोरजु, आदिन, राजपूजायातं ॥ पोल १ भैरवजु ॥
३. पो १ नकिनिजु ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ थ्वकंथनं स्वानके जपयके ॥ हंस
४. हं ६ न बो थय, हं २ दुमाजु, हं १ वताजु, हं १ नकिनीजु, हं १ भैर-
५. वजु, हं १ तुपोलजुस्त, थ्वते खंपोस छोय ॥ ॥ कुलुकयात कुन्हु
६. यंया कुसिक्व दुमाजुस्त, वसन्तपूलि दुमाजुस्तं, पूजा जु २ नेभेयातं, दं

(३)

१. १२ ग्वय ३० हंस हं ४ ॥ नेभेयान ॥ थ्व हंस हं २ राजस दु बिय ॥
२. हं २ आचार्ययातं काय ॥ थ्वते कुलुकयात कुन्हु ॥ ॥ संक्रान्ति कु-
३. न्हु पूजा जु २ हंस हं २ नेभेयातं ॥ नैव्यद्य जोरन दयकाव जुजु बि-
४. युव, हंस हं १ न दवथं स्मय याय ॥ मज्जतिथं देव चालन याक्काव,
५. सिन्धूरि जात्रा याक्काव, देव दुहा बिज्याचके, देश कुयकाव स्वकनबुस,
६. पूजा जु २ हंस हं २ नेभेयात, देव थापना याक्काव यात्रा याक्क तय

(४)

१. जुजुनं ग्वय छायकं, स्वान तस्यं रिहा बिज्याचके ॥ नस चा जोलक्का-
२. व, जुजु बिज्याचकाव, पूजा जु २ हंस हं २ नेभेयात, पूजा याय, जुजु
३. यात स्वान तय, थ्वनलि जुजुन, वतुतो, सयकाव, आचार्यया छेस लिहा
४. बिज्याचके, मज्जतिथं लं सोय, ॥ कलेस दुवाल ल्याख, तिप्वात, दयकाव,

८० सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, भोलम १४, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८६)

५. लं सोय, निवर्द्धनादि, दीप रोह रक्षा, सगोनादि, आसिन्वदि आरथी,
६. प्रतिष्ठा, स्वस्ति वाक्य पदपं दुहाबिज्याचके, स्थापन पूजा याय, वाधाव दा-

(५)

१. यके ॥ थ्वते यंयाविश्वजात्राया विधान ॥ ॥ वसन्तपुरिया गुलिकु-
२. सिक्वया जुल, उलृ यायमाल, समस्तं कु शिक्व यार्थे ॥ ॥
३. चैत्र शुद्धि एकादशी कुन्हु, दंदु पूजा छोय, जोशिन, धरवत सोचका-
४. व, पिवने जुकोया, मज्जतिथे पूजा छोय ॥ पूजा जु ३ हंस हं २ दं ३ ग्व-
५. य ५ दुमाजुस्त ॥ वसन्तपुरि, पूजाजु ३ हंस हं २ दं ३ ग्वय ५ वसन्त-
६. पुरि ॥ ॥ थापूजाया कन्थनं मारक्व छोय ॥ वलि लोहो, वंकुलि ॥

(६)

१. त्रिशूल ॥ हंस हं १ दं ४ ग्वय ५ ॥ जिमने ग्वड देवल ॥ पेग्वड देवल ॥ मा-
२. तृका ॥ दुवनेयात ॥ ॥ देगुलितले ॥ कन्हेवल सिक्व ॥ थ्वते दुदुपू-
३. जाविधि ॥ ॥ चैत्रकृष्ण अस्तमी ८ कुन्हु, तवदेवलस, थापूजा
४. जोलनन, धवनछो याय, आचार्यन संफुलि सोस्यं रात्रि खनके माल ॥ ॥

५. वैशाखन, ॥ दिन सोस्यं, तवदेवलस अजिलिस्वान छायाव, थापूजा जो-

(७)

१. लन ॥
२. १ ज्येष्ठन ॥ दिन सोयाव चपस्वान छाया ॥ भीमसेन, पूजा जु १ हंस हं १
३. दं २ ग्वय ५ चंपस्वान दक्व छोय ॥ ॥ दुर्पतीस, पुजाजु १ हंस हं १ दं
४. २ ग्वय ५ चंप स्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ कविन्द्रपुलिया जगन्नाथ, नाते-
५. श्वर, नरसिंह, हंस हं १ दं २ ग्वय ५ पूजा जु १ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥
६. ॥ ॥ जतल, सुरु थामया पुजा जु १ हंस हं १ दं २ ग्वय ५ चंपस्वा

(८)

१. न तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ वुगस, पुजाजु १ दं २ ग्वय ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय
२. ॥ ॥ वुग सुरुथामया, पूजाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥
३. सेगु, पूजा जु १ दं २ ग्वय ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ प्रतापपुरि, पू-
४. जाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ अनन्तपुरी, पुजाजु १ दं २
५. ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ पशुपतिस्त, पुजा जु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चं-
६. पस्वन तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ वुक्वयात, पुजाजु १ हंस हं १ स्मय न्यान, दं २

(९)

१. ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ वज्रयोगिनि, पूजाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चं-
२. पस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ चंगुयात पुजाजु १ दं २ ग्वय ५ चंपस्वान त-
३. स्यं छोय ॥ ॥ पुणुरिस, पुजाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ हंस हं १ चंपस्वान तस्यं छो-
४. य ॥ ॥ अग्निहोत्रस, पुजाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोये ॥ ॥
५. सालछेपुरिस, पुजाजु १ हंस हं १ दं ४ ग्व १० चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥
६. ॥ ॥ हितिस, पुजाजु १ हंस हं ३ दं ६ ग्वय १५ चंपस्वान ॥ ॥

(१०)

१. वलि लोहोस, पुजाजु १ दं २ ग्व ५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥ वसंत-
२. पुरिस, पूजाजु १ दं ३ ग्व १५ हंस हं १ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोयः ॥ ॥
३. दुमाजुस्त पूजाजु १ हंस हं १ दं ३ ग्व १५ चंपस्वान तस्यं छोय ॥ ॥
४. खंप्वस छोय, स्वान केपोल, पोल ५ प्वल १ दुमाजुस्त, ॥ प्वल १ वंकुलि ॥
५. प्वल १ मानेश्वरी ॥ प्वल १ पीथु ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ दं १२ ग्वय ३०
६. स अंकन ॥ न्हक्वसं चंगुसं, चंपस्वान दक्व, खंप्व बिस्य छोय माल धकं

(११)

१. हाऊ छोयमाल ॥ सेसा आदिन चंपस्वान दक्व छोय ॥ श्वते परिवा-
२. र श्व कंथनं छोय ॥ ॥ श्वते धुनकाव दिन सोस्यं, तवदेवलस, था-
३. पूजा, चंपस्वान छाया ॥
४. आणाढ कृष्ण चतुर्दसि १४ पुतिछा वुसाधनयाथ्यं, पूजावसपे
५. जुरों ॥ आचार्यन, देगुरि छेदिस, थापूजा याथ्यं, पूजा जोपयके

(१२)

१. श्वनलि, त्रिशूलस पूजा याय ॥ श्वनलि, उपाध्यास्यं, पूजा यायु ॥ रा-
२. त्रिस मजतिथे यायु ॥ संति, प्रसाचवदसयाथ्यं, भुपात ७ कुहल
३. भुजा बियु ॥
४. श्रावण शुद्धि ८ अष्टमि कुन्हु, खंप्वया, पिथु पुतिछा ॥ स्वान के-
५. पोल छोय ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरि

(१३)

१. पोल १ पिथुस्त ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ दं १२ ग्वय ३० सेसा, म्वाच, खलभुजा
२. आदिन, दको विसे छोय ॥ दाम शुका २ मलियात, हाज शुद्धान, वय बि-
३. य ॥ ॥ श्रावण कृष्ण ८ अष्टमि कुन्हु, खंप्वया, दुंथु पुतिछान, स्वा-
४. न के पोल छोय ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ माने-
५. श्वरि ॥ पोल १ पिथू ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ दं १३ ग्वय ३० सेसा, म्वा-
६. च, खलभुजा, तुसे, फनसे, आदिन, दक्व छोय, ॥ दाम शुका २ मलि-

(१४)

१. यात हाज शुद्धान वय बिय ॥ थ्वते खंप्व छोय ॥ ॥ श्रावणशुद्धि
२. १२ द्वादशि कुन्हु गुनप्वंया देवस्त दक्षिना काय, दंम १८ ग्वय ३०
३. ॥ थ्वतेन बो थय ॥ दं १ महादेवल ॥ दं १ विष्णुदेवल, ॥ दं १ दुमाजु ॥
४. दं १ वलिलोहो ॥ दं १ वसंतपुलि ॥ दं १ हिति ॥ दं १ प्यग्वल देवल ॥
५. दं १ त्रिसूल ॥ दं १ मातृका ॥ दं ४ तवदेवल ॥ दं ४ न्हुलेदेवल ॥
६. दं १ कन्हेवल सिक्व ॥ ॥ तव देवलस मतपूजा यायमाल ॥ ॥

(१५)

१. सिंधुरिजात्राया, सिंध्र, आगण काय माल, छबोतवदेलयात १ छ-
२. बो न्हुल देवलयात १ ॥ ॥
३. भद्रपद शुक्लन, एन्दला थ्व लक्काव, दिन सोयाव, राथ्वक पूजा
४. थापूजा याय तवदेवलस ॥ ॥ भाद्रपद एन्दलान दिन सो-
५. याव पंणर्कय कल छोय ॥ ॥ भाद्रपद शुक्ल अस्तमि कुन्हु

(१६)

१. तवदे थापूजा याय ॥ दुगु सोय हं २ दं ८ हेलयात बियमाल ॥
२. मालश्री थातके माल ॥ ॥ भद्रपद कृष्ण, अष्टमि कुन्हु, तव
३. देवलस, थापूजा याय ॥ मुले, थुहं १ सोय ॥ महालक्ष्मीधर्म ॥ ॥

(१७)

१. आशुन शुक्ल ॥ नवरात्र स्वने ॥ नवरात्र स्व कुन्हु, तवदेवलस, नि-
२. त्यकर्म, धुनकेमाल ॥ जुजुयां, नित्यकर्म धुनकेमाल ॥ नवरात्र, कु-
३. थिसं, न्हवोस्यं, ताल लात काव तय ॥ उपाध्यास्यं, मालक्वं कर्म यायु,

४. नवरात्र सोने धुनकाव ॥ ॥ खंप्वस स्वान केपोल जोपयके ॥ पो-
५. ल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरी ॥ पोल १ पिथु ॥
६. पोल १ नवरात्र भगवतिस्त, ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ दं १६ ग्व ४० ॥

(१८)

१. श्वते खंप्वस छोय ॥ ॥ तवदेवलात, मतपूजा जु १ जोपय-
२. के, दं ४ ग्व १० ॥ ॥ निखुति, थु सोययात, ग्वय १० दं ८ अक्षत, द्वा-
३. फल ॥ जुजुन तनके ॥ ॥ पाथ याचके, पाथ संपूर्ण जुरळाव,
४. तवदेवलस, नायक, आचार्यण, मतपूजा याय ॥ ग्वय २० गुंगुलि,
५. धूपवास, मढे सुखले १ सामग्री जोलन १ दयके माल ॥ देव क्व-
६. हा मविज्यात्वले, न्हिथं, उथ्यंमाल ॥ ॥

(१९)

१. ततो अष्टमीया विधान, ॥ तवदेवलस, नित्यकर्म धुनकेमाल, जुजुयां, नि-
२. त्यकर्म धुनकेमाल ॥ ॥ नवरात्र, दुथुस, मालक्व, न्ह वोस्यं ताल राचका-
३. व तय, ॥ खण्ड कुथिसं, मालको, न्हवोस्यं, ताल राचकाव तय ॥ ॥
४. तवदेवलस, ताल लाचकाव, चालनपूजायात, पूजा जोपयके ॥ म-
५. ज्जतिथें चालनपूजा याय ॥ वेला मुहुर्त्त जुलळाव, स्वस्तीकस, जुजु
६. तयाव, यो यान्ति देव, पदपाव, देवविसर्जन याळाव लाळाव जुजु लवलहाय

(२०)

१. ॥ मालक्व, सकल्यं, लवलहाय, वसा लायाव, क्वहावि (ज्या) चके ॥ ॥
२. क्ववने, जुजु स्वस्तिकस तयाव, निवर्द्धनादि, दिप लोहरक्षा, सगोनादि,
३. आसिर्व्वदि प्रतिष्ठा ॥ वेला मुहुर्त्त जुलळाव स्थापन याव ॥ वाक्य ॥ याव-
४. च्चन्द्रार्कमारुत्वत्यादि ॥ स्थापन याय ॥ ॥ पुष्पभाजन ॥ ॥
५. पिवने स्थापन मज्जतिथ्यं, ॥ पुष्पभाजनयातके ॥ पूजा, दुवन्यं, पिव-
६. न्यं नाप लाचकं याय ॥ ॥ जुजु देव, जोपयके, दुवन्यं, पिवन्यं,

(२१)

१. ॥ ॥ श्वनलि, खंप्वयात स्वान केपोल, जोपयके ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त
२. ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरी ॥ पोल १ नवरात्र भगवति, ॥
३. पोल १ येताखण्ड कुथि ॥ पोल १ पिथ ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ पोल १ नव-
४. रात्र दुथु, क्वहा बिज्याचका गुरिस ॥ स अंकन पोल ८ ग्वय ४५ दंम
५. १८ दुगु हं ३ श्वते खंप्वस स्वान केपोल, अस्तमी कुन्हु छोय ॥ ॥
६. अन्तरवनसा, अस्तमी कुन्हुयाथ्यं, स्वान कोके पोल छोय ॥ थाल ८ दुगु हं

(२२)

१. ३ समस्तं, उथ्यं माल जुलवं, अंतल मवनसा मुमाल ॥ ॥ पुन, नवमि कुन्हुया
२. तं छोय ॥ अन्तल वनसा, अन्तल वाकुन्हुं छोय ॥ मवानसा, अस्तमि कुन्हुं
३. छोय, ॥ खण्ड स्व कुन्हु याथे, स्वानकेपोल ८ उपल, पोल १ गणकौमा-
४. रियातं ॥ पोल १ एकातकौमारियातं, थ्वते उपल ॥ ग्वय ६५ दंम २६
५. स अंकन, दुगु हं ३ मेस हं ३ थ्वते खंपोस स्वान के पोल छोय ॥ ॥
६. दुवने पूजा धुनकाव, दुगु हं ९ दुवनेयात ॥ ॥ दुगु हं ३ पिव-

(२३)

१. नेयात ॥ ॥ समय याय ॥ समय धुनकाव ॥ दुवनेयां, पिवनेयां,
२. कलंक छोय, ॥ ॥ थ्वनलि, दक्षिणा, वाचनलंख चेत, सिंध्र, स्वान,
३. तय, ॥ साक्षि थाय, ॥ मोकसिलिपोल, ग्वालं, बियके ॥ उपाध्या, आचार्य,
४. दक्षिना, थ्वते दुवने ॥ ॥ पिवने उथ्यं माल ॥ इति अष्टमि कुन्हु,
५. या विधि ॥ ॥ अन्तर वनसा अस्तमि कुन्हुया थ्यं ॥ पूजा जो-
६. पयके, दुवन्यं, पिवन्यं, ॥ वलिस जातने, ॥ मज्जतिथ्यं, सांगोपाङ्ग दे-

(२४)

१. वाचर्चन याय ॥ ॥ थ्वनलि, खंप्वस, स्वानके पोल छोय, मज्जतिथ्यं ॥ ॥
२. थ्वनलि, पसुतर्पण, दुवन्यं, पिवन्यं, ॥ समय, कलंकान्त ॥ अविसेख
३. चित्त, सिंध्र, स्वान, तय, ग्वय, ग्वाल, जजमान, उपाध्या, आचार्य, सकल्य-
४. स्तं विय ॥ दक्षिना समस्तं, अस्तमि कुन्हुयाथे ॥ थ्वनलि, खन्दमेश
५. चिये । मूल निगस, आलोग याय, ॥ वलन्हिया देव जोपयके, देव-
६. स्त मत बिये ॥ थ्वते अन्तलवळ्या विधि ॥

(२५)

१. अथ नवमीया विधि ॥ जजमान पुष्पभाजन, याय, दुवन्यं पिवन्यं
२. ॥ चेत, सिंध्र, जजोमका, स्वान गेले पुलान वलिस, जा तने ॥ मज्जतिथ्यं
३. नवमिपूजा याय ॥ दुवन्यं, पिवन्यं, पोसोक याय, ग्वय छायाके ॥ ॥
४. खण्डमेस, स्याययात फलस वलि बिय, हि फव पूजा चुपेपूजा, खं-
५. ण्डमेसपूजा, मेस स्याय धुनकाव वाधाव दायके ॥ ॥ थ्वनलि, त-
६. देवलसं, नवलात्रसं, खण्डकुथिसं, नवरात्र दुथुसं, नित्यकर्म याय

(२६)

१. ॥ ॥ ध्वनलि देगु लिछेदिस जोसिन धलवत सोचकाव मज्जतिथ्ये दे-
२. सपूजा छोय ॥ ॥ ध्वनलि, खप्पयात स्वान केपोर जोपयके, दश-
३. मि कुन्हुयात ॥ पोल १ दुमाजुस्त ॥ पोल १ वंकुलि ॥ पोल १ मानेश्वरी
४. ॥ पोल १ नवरात्र भगवति ॥ पोल १ येता खण्डकुथि ॥ पोल १ पिथु
५. ॥ पोल १ तलेजुस्त ॥ पोल १ नवरात्र दुथुस्त, ॥ ग्वय ४५ दंम १८
६. स अंकन, दुगु, मेस मुमाल, थ्वते खप्पस छोय ॥ ॥

(२७)

१. ध्वनलि गणकौमालि कालवनेयात ॥ मूलचुकस, स्वानके, जोपयके,
२. ग्वय, ग्वाल, देवस्त, उपाध्या, आचार्य, लवतपनि, आदिन, सकलेस्तं वि-
३. य ॥ ॥ ध्वनलि, गणकौमालि कालवने, सिक्वमुगुडिस ॥ कंथ, अ-
४. कंथ सोयाव, कथंन तय ॥ नो चायके, जपलपाव, अमन्त्र स्तोत्र पद-
५. पाव, भलिपनिसेन, जोनकाव, कंथनं बिज्याचके ॥ वाजन दायका-
६. व मोस्यान च्याऊाव ॥ मूल ध्वाखाया, पिवने, मज्जतिथ्यं लं सोय, ॥ नि-

(२८)

१. वछ्छनादि, दीप रोहलक्षा, सगोनादि, आसिर्व्वदि, प्रतिष्ठा ॥ लासा ला-
२. व, स्वस्ति वाक्य पदपाव, दुहा विज्याचके ॥ मूल चुकया फलस लृ चायका-
३. व, मज्जतिथ्यं दुहाविज्याचके, थव २ थायस, बिज्याचकाव, मज्जतिथ्ये
४. पूजा ॥ भोपयके, भोपे धुनकाव, पिहा विज्याचके ॥ वाजन, मोस्याल,
५. थेनकं छोय ॥ राजान देवल लिवितो सल विज्याय ॥ इति गण-
६. या विधि ॥ ॥ पुत्र एकातया विधि ॥ एकात काल वनेयात, स्वा-

(२९)

१. न के जोपयके, ग्वय १० दंम ४ ॥ ग्वय, ग्वाल, मज्जतिथ्ये बिय ॥ याकातकौमा-
२. लि कालवने ॥ मोस्याल, वाजन, भलिपनि, मूल आचार्यन, स्वान के जोऊाव,
३. वने, सिक्वमुगुलिस ॥ आसनस बिज्याचकाव, नो चायके, जपलपे, त्रियाञ्जलि
४. छायाव जप स्तोत्र ॥ आमन्त्र स्तोत्र पदपाव, भलिपनिसेन, जोनकाव विज्या-
५. चके, ध्वनलि, मूल ध्वाखाया न्हवने, मज्जतिथ्यं लं सोयाव, स्वस्तिवाक्य पद-
६. पाव, लासा लाव, लंख धाल थस्यं दुहा बिज्याचके ॥ मूलचुकया फलस, चव

(३०)

१. कि चोयाव, क्वतलस लंख तयाव, जजमानन, लृ चायकाव खण्डकुथिलं-
२. नं विज्याचके ॥ आसस तय, मज्जतिथ्ये, पूजा याय, भोपयके ॥ आचा-
३. र्यन, हनु भैरवपूजा, याय, जाप स्तोत्र ॥ भोपेगतकाव, नो चायके ॥ ग्व-
४. यं, दक्षिणा, छायाके ॥ थ्वनलि लिहाबिच्याचके ॥ वाजन, मोस्यान, माल-
५. को, समस्तं वियाव छोय ॥ जजमानन, देवल लिवितो, सलवने ॥ ॥
६. दुहा विज्याकाव, सम याय, ॥ वाक्यन सह ॥ कलंकपूजा ॥ ॥ मत बि-

(३१)

१. य ॥ देव जोपयके ॥ दक्षिणा ॥ अविषेक, चित, सिंध्र, स्वान, ग्वय, ग्वाल
२. बिय, जजमानादि, उपाध्या, आचार्य, लवतपनि, मज्जतिथ्यं बिय, ॥ मू-
३. ल आचार्यन, द्वालपूजायात वने ॥ इति नवमिया विधि ॥ ॥
४. ततो दशमिया विधि ॥ मज्जतिथ्ये बलि थ्वय ॥ बलि मालको थायथायसं
५. छोय ॥ दुगु कर्णपि बिय, मेश कर्णपिबिय, नित्यकर्म याय ॥ ॥
६. थ्वनलि, चारन पूजायात, पूजा जोपयके, दुवनेयातं, पिवनेयातं ॥ पू-

(३२)

१. जा याय, ॥ वेला मुहुर्त जुरकाव, जजमान, स्वस्तिक सते, यो यान्ति देव
२. पदपाव, देवविसर्जन याय, जजमान त्वाकाव न्हथुथ्ये लवलहाय ॥
३. थ्वनलि निवर्दनादि, दीप लोह लक्षा, सग्वनादि, आसिब्बदि, ॥ पलास-
४. न नातुनकाव, कलंक छोय ॥ ॥ थ्वनलि, वसा लायाव, दिग सोस्यं,
५. न्हयाय, गमनं चार्थराय, पदपे ॥ थाहा बिज्याचके ॥ ॥ थ्वनलि त-
६. वदेवलस, न्ह वोस्यं, कलेस आदिन मालको, ताल लाचकं तय, ॥

(३३)

१. दुहा बिज्याचके ॥ निवर्दनादि दीप लोहरक्षा, सगोनादि, आसि-
२. व्वदि, सिफ लुय, आरथि प्रतिस्था ॥ ॥ दुहा बिज्याचके, दुवने
३. निवच्छन याय, सग्वनादि आसिब्बदि, आलथि प्रतिस्था ॥ से ग्वाल
४. तय ॥ थ्वनलि वेला मुहुर्त जुरकाव, त्वाकाव, मज्जतिथ्यं, थाय था-
५. यसं तय, ॥ थिल हाले वाक्य ॥ यावचन्द्रावर्कत्यादि ॥ जजमानपुष्प-
६. भाजन, सूर्यार्घि, गुरुनमस्कारादि, न्यास, जलपात्र, अर्घपात्र, भूत

(३४)

१. शुद्धि, आत्मपूजा, मालनि, मज्जतिथ्यें पूजा याय ॥ जाप, स्तोत्र,
२. समय कलंक ॥ दक्षिना ॥ दशपति तय, ॥ मज्जतिथ्यें पायात ॥
३. इति दसमिया विधि ॥ ॥
४. आश्विन कृष्ण अमावाशि, ॥ लक्ष्मीपूजा ॥

(३५)

१. कार्तिक शुक्ल, प्रतिपदा सगोन बिय ॥ ॥ कार्तिक शुक्ल, च-
२. तुद्दर्शी, स्वयंभु लिङ्ग पूजा छोय, जोसिन धरवत स्वचकाव माल जोप-
३. यकाव छोय ॥ ॥ कार्तिक धुनकाव, नो फेनेयात, पूजा याय,
४. ॥ दुगु हं १ लुयि नाय ॥ हंस हं १ दुमाजु ॥ हंस हं १ वसन्तपुरि ॥ हं-
५. स हं १ हिति ॥ दुगु हं १ त्रिशूलयात ॥ तवदेवलस, मत पूजा ॥ ॥
६. उपाध्यान, देगुलि, छेदिया, धुकुतिस, कुल्लल भुजा बियु, तुपात

(३६)

१. बिय, ॥ तवदेवलस, समय, बो छायामाल ॥ नो चिकहं नो फेनके
२. ॥ ॥ तवदेवलस, महति धुळ्या, लाध्वक पूजा यायमाल ॥ ॥
३. मार्गशिल शुक्ल पूर्णिमा कुन्हु, जतलस पूजा छोय ॥ पूजा जु १ स्म-
४. य जु ३ फसिहं ३ दक्षिणा, गवय बिकव ॥ ॥
५. कार्तिकन, पिंद थयाया, हंस स्याय मुमाल ॥

(३७)

१. पौष शुक्ल, पूर्णिमा कुन्हु ॥ तव देवलस, वृहस्पतिवाल, जोलन
२. पूजा याय, ॥ ॥ चंगुया, पोसपो, मज्जतिथ्यें, बिज्याचके, ॥ ॥
३. माघकृष्ण, सेरागाक, दशमि कुन्हु ॥ तव देवलस, बुसाधन याय
४. ॥ यजमादि, उपाध्या, आचार्य, लूलुसिं पाय, स्नानादि, वस्त्र हेलेमाल
५. ॥ दुवने, सिध्नन लायलपे, दिष्टि, कर्णपताका, पञ्चपताका, अदु-

(३८)

१. वाल, आदिन खेलै, पतवासन चोय, बलि, पंच बलि स्व खेसं, क्वथा-
२. याक्काव चोय, ॥ शिखा महाकालया, न्हवने, ढोल याक्क, ड्रन्दुन बलि
३. ८ वोस्यं तय ॥ ॥ क्ववने देगुडि छेडिस, थापूजां मथनं, मज्जति-
४. थ्यं, पूजा जोपयके ॥ ॥ त्रिशूलपूजा ॥ मात्रिकापूजा ॥ ॥ ध्वन-
५. लि, उपाध्यान, कुसन्दि, होमया, अग्निस्थापनयातक्काव ॥ दुवने
६. आचार्यन, पूजा याय, ॥ अद्यादि गुरुनमस्कारादि आत्मपूजान्तं

(३९)

१. सांगोपाङ्गपूजा, धूप, दिप, जाप, स्तोत्र, ॥ ध्वनरि उपाध्यासेन, ध्वजा
२. दुंतयके ॥ पशुतर्पन ॥ ० ॥ मार्घशुक्ल, अजरा सप्त-
३. मि कुन्हु, वस्त्र हेलैयात ॥ वस्त्र दयके ॥ गणेशया तोयु ॥ ॥ ब्रह्माय
४. नीया यियु ॥ ॥ माहेश्वरी तोयु ॥ ॥ वतुक भैरव, हाकु ॥ ॥ कौमा-
५. री ह्याकु ॥ ॥ वैष्णवी वाकु ॥ ॥ क्षेत्र हाकु ॥ ॥ वाराही कतो ॥ ॥
६. इन्द्रायनि, कतो ॥ ॥ जोगिनि, ह्याकु ॥ ॥ चामुण्डा ह्याडु ॥ ॥ महाल-

(४०)

१. क्षी, राउनि ॥ ॥ कुसुमविकापल, नो २ सालिक ॥ ॥ मुकलंङ पात ४
२. ॥ पतुरि त्वाक १२ ॥ कोणागापु १२ ॥ लंङ्पाट १२ वर्ण थव थवस ॥
३. ध्वते वस्त्र हेलैयात ॥ ॥
४. फाल्गुण शुक्ल, पूर्णिमा कुन्हु, ॥ वृहस्पतिवार जोरन पूजा यायमाल ॥ ॥
५. फाल्गुण शुक्ल, चतुर्दशी कुन्हु ॥ जतलस, पूजा छोय, पुजा जु १ फसिहं ४ समय
६. न्यान जु १ दक्षिणा, ग्वय, बिक्व जतलस छोय ॥ ॥ फाल्गुण कृष्ण चतुर्दशी
७. कुन्हु ॥ दुगु हं १ समय, न्यान, लुं माध्ये छोय ॥ ॥ दुगु हं १ समय, न्यान १

(४१)

१. कहग छोय, ॥ ॥ ग्वलोया ॥ पसाचवदस, लि दवू, परिमान ॥ वछला-
२. देवीयातं, दुगु हं १ समय, न्यान, पुजा जु १ छोय ॥
३. पुन पिसाच, चतुर्दशी ॥ खंप्वस, स्वान केपोल छोय, ॥ पो १ दुमाजु ॥
४. पो १ वंकुलि ॥ पो १ मानेश्वरि ॥ पो १ पिथु ॥ पो १ गलंडयात ॥ पो १
५. तलेजुस्त ॥ सअंकन, पो ६ दं १४ ग्वय ३५ दुगु हं २ ॥ ध्वते पसाचव-
६. दसन खंप्वस छोय ॥ ॥ पिसाच चतुर्दशी कुन्हु, ॥ तवदेवलस,
७. याय विधि ॥ मज्जतिथ्यं, पूजा वसपे, पूजा जु १ गलंडयात, उपल माल ॥ थापूजा.

(४२)

१. मथन, पूजा जोपयके ॥ ध्वनलि चतुर्दशीया होम याय ॥ त्रिशूलपूजा ॥ सनि
२. वलि बिय ॥ ॥ ध्वनलि तवदेवलस, ॥ सनिवेतळाव, मालकव ताल लाचकाव,
३. ॥ आमन्त्रन पूजा याय ॥ मालको समस्तं जियकाव, पुष्पभाजन याय ॥ मातृकापू-
४. जा ॥ दुवने ॥ गलण्डस, बलि बियाव, नाप लाचकं, दुवने पूजा यायमाल ॥ साङ्गो
५. पांग, समस्तं पूजा याय ॥ धूप, दीप, नैवेद्य, जाप, स्तोत्र ॥ चपेपूजा ॥ पसुतर्पण ॥
६. समय ॥ कलंकपूजा ॥ इति पीसाच चतुर्दशीया विधि ॥ ॥ संति कुन्हुया
७. विधि ॥ बलि ध्वय, ॥ ध्वनलि, नित्य कर्म याय ॥ भु पात ७ विधिथ्यें, कुल्लल भुजा

(४३)

१. बिय ॥ कुल्लल भुजाविसर्जन याळाव, माले माले छोय ॥ समय ॥ ॥
२. इति पिशाचचतुर्दशीया विधि ॥ ॥

९० सि. एन. ए. एस. जर्नल, भोलम १४, नं. १ (डिसेम्बर १९८६)

टिप्पणी:-

१. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र, वि.सं. २०३०, ‘लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख’ त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, काठमाडौं, पृ. १५१
२. संशोधन-मण्डल, वि.सं. २०१९, ‘इतिहास संशोधनको प्रमाण प्रमेय’ जगदम्बाप्रकाशन, ललितपुर, पृ. ५२
३. रेग्मी, डिल्लीरमण, ई. १९६६, ‘मिडिइभल नेपाल’ फर्मा के.एल्. मुखोपाध्याय, कलकत्ता, पृ. ३८
४. संस्कृत सन्देश, वर्ष १, अंक ४, वि.सं. २०१०, ‘कवीन्द्रपुरः प्रतापमल्लदेवस्य शिलालेखः’ काठमाडौं, पृ. १-६
५. वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र र पन्त महेशराज, वि.सं. २०१८, ‘अभिलेख-संग्रह’ भाग ३, संशोधन मण्डल, काठमाडौं, पृ. १७-१८
६. वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र, वि.सं. २०३२, ‘हनूमान्ढोका राजदरबार’ त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, काठमाडौं, पृ. १५५
७. तैवारी, रामजी र अरू, वि.सं. २०१९, ‘अभिलेख संग्रह’ भाग ७, संशोधन-मण्डल, काठमाडौं, पृ. २९
८. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र र श्रेष्ठ, टेकबहादुर, वि.सं. २०३७, ‘शाहकालका अभिलेख’ त्रि.वि. नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, काठमाडौं, पृ. २८५, २८९, २९८
९. वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र, ‘हनूमान्ढोका राजदरबार’ पृ. १६७
१०. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र र मल्ल, कमलप्रकाश, ई. १९८५, ‘द गोपालराजवंशावली’ फ्रन्स स्टाइनर फेलिंग, वीस्बादेन, पृ. ३८
११. वज्राचार्य, गौतमवज्र, ‘हनूमान्ढोका राजदरबार’ पृ. १६७, १६८
१२. वज्राचार्य, धनवज्र र मल्ल, कमलप्रकाश, ‘द गोपालराजवंशावली’ पृ. ३७
१३. रेग्मी, डिल्लीरमण, ‘मिडिइभल नेपाल’ भाग ३, पृ. ६-७, २२, २४
१४. रेग्मी, डिल्लीरमण, ‘मिडिइभल नेपाल’ भाग ३, पृ. ७

Book Review

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES
CNAS, TRIBHUVAN UNIVERSITY

Vol. 14, No. 1
December 1986

Nepal Rediscovered. 1986. Edited by Padma Prakash Shrestha. 112 pages. Time Books International. New Delhi, Price NC Rs. 420/-

The year 1846 is one of the most significant dates in the history of Nepal. It was the advent of the "Rana" regime which lasted for 104 years during which the King of Nepal was reduced to a mere figurehead with all the external decorum and regalia intact. The King played a purely nominal and honorific role, deprived of all authority and power.

It was basically the Kot massacre that paved the way for this sudden swing in Nepal's history. The bloody event that took place on the night of the 15th of September, 1846, in the courtyard called the Kot where a notorious massacre of noblemen, officers and courtiers occurred, is an event unsurpassed in Nepalese history. Bir Narsingh Kanwar, a soldier of fortune, later to be known as Jang Bahadur Rana, played a decisive role in the massacre and emerged as the strongman much demanded by the chaos and political uncertainty in the country during the time. This efficiently conducted massacre put most of Jang Bahadur's enemies to the sword and he was proclaimed Prime Minister the very next day. Thus, Jang Bahadur was to be the first of the long line of Rana rulers with absolute and unlimited powers in all fields.

In order to keep power within the Rana family and avoid internal squabbles, Jang Bahadur decided upon a somewhat unexpected innovation to make the title and functions of the "Prime minister" hereditary. But the line of succession instead of going from the father to the son, was to go to the male descendants of the Rana family on the basis of seniority of age. According to this arrangement, only the eldest agnate of the family could succeed to the prime ministership upon the incumbent's death. Rana rule was thus established and its oligarchical character was to continue for over a century, limiting decision making powers to a few members of the Rana family.

That the Ranas lived in splendour is common knowledge and the various durbars, mahals and bhavans bear testimony to this fact. Their luxurious lifestyles, wayward temperaments, extravagant tastes and retinue of concubines are legendary and the cruelty, instability, slavery, palace intrigue and murder associated with Rana rule make them, along with the maharajas of India, the last splendid anachronisms of modern times.

By virtue of their position, many of the Ranas seemed to have been larger than life; they had powers of life and death, commanded incalculable riches, pursued grandiose courses. A few of them, however, were exceptions, and they lived by a strong code of honour outmoded elsewhere. Some proved to be capable administrators, others cultivated startling eccentricities and a few indulged in luxuries and depravities remarkable in their ingenuity. Capable, decadent, chivalrous, or arrogant, Rana rule nevertheless occupies an important position in Nepal's history and adds, if nothing else, an aura of magnificence to the whole setting.

It is precisely this aura of magnificence in Nepalese history that the book *Nepal Rediscovered* ("Rana Nepal Rediscovered" would have been more appropriate.) wishes to capture. The myriad of photographs lavishly splashed across the pages from Jang Bahadur's time depicting the Ranas decked in regal splendour, resplendent in their uniforms, swords, medals and the magnificent flowing plumes of the Bird of Paradise do bring to the fore the splendour of the not forgotten past. Formal family and personal portraits of various Rana Prime Ministers, high ranking officials, inauguration of different maharajas, leading ladies of the court, weddings, group photographs, hunting expeditions, group portraits with visiting diplomats, royal servants and palaces successfully reveal the lifestyle of the Rana court and also social, political, and religious occasions, and architectural features of old Kathmandu destroyed in the earthquake of 1934.

The collection of these rare photographs (90 and not 92 as stated in the inner flap of the jacket) which constitute the major bulk of the volume will probably account for its popularity and might even tempt Nepalese scholars and connoisseurs to take a copy home. However, had some photographs of Jagat Jang and his family been included, the album (which the book rightly is) might have been a more complete 'photo essay' on the subject.

The publication also provides a peep into early Nepali court photography, how the medium was introduced into the kingdom, the significance it acquired in later years and how some early cameras could have possibly come into the country. The brief socio-cultural and historical information about Nepal from ancient times to the recent referendum will be of immense interest to those who have not visited the country and who wish to know something about it. Though the book does not have a price-tag, the basic contents, nature and layout of the volume make it clear that it is basically designed for the world outside.

The section on "Rana Nepal: A Political History" is a scholarly piece of writing. It gives a short but graphic account of Jang Bahadur's rise to power, establishment of Rana rule, internal squabbles for power within the family, technical innovations they brought into the country, major developments in foreign relations, their relations with the British, the struggle that overthrew Rana rule, the formation of the Nepali Congress etc. But what is interesting, and which provides food for thought to Nepalese scholars and historians, is the argument presented that Rana rule may not just be a period of darkness and oppression that it is generally associated with.

The contention is that Rana rule is often viewed in the wrong perspective because of excessive concentration of power on its last years when the Rana family, especially the hard line members, were fighting a rearguard action to brush off changes that events in the wider field of South Asia had made inevitable.

In this context, Rana foreign policy, which has always come under heavy criticism, is taken up and is justified on grounds that the Rana

alliance with the British was not necessarily a prop to retain power at the expense of Nepal's national interest but, on the contrary, to preserve Nepal's independence, since reliance on an enfeebled China as a counter to the threat from the south was of little value.

Rana conservatism is also discussed, and the plea that it could very well be rooted in national attitudes developed long before the advent of Rana rule is convincing in the sense that Nepal had, from Prithvi Narayan Shah's time, followed a strict isolationist policy to preserve her Hindu identity, and for Jang Bahadur to act otherwise would have been suicidal.

The failure of Rana rule and its ultimate overthrow in 1951 are equally well presented, the latter being attributed to the policy taken up in the latter half of the Rana period during Juddha Shamsheer's premiership. The attitude behind this policy, as stated, was precisely expressed by Singha Shamsheer in the report on industrial development where he acknowledged that though promoting living standards among the people was desirable, they (Ranas) possibly couldn't take steps that could later prove subversive to their autocratic authority. It is true that this resulted in Nepal being cut off from developments beyond her borders, and that the insignificant technological and cultural change that did take place affected only the privileged few. That this policy created resentment and mass public discontent is too well known, and the logic, that this coupled with population pressure on resources and mounting ecological problems proved to be a powerful nucleus for discontented political groups in finally uprooting the 104 year old Rana regime, is convincing.

The plea for a reassessment of Rana rule on grounds that it has often been viewed from a wrong perspective is equally plausible. Nepalese analysts are also in agreement that the euphoria that followed the overthrow of Rana rule came like a blinding flash, and that it obscured impartial assessment of their rule in its totality. The contention that the latter half of Rana rule was conveniently used by ideologues to promote their own vested interests to depict the 104 years of Rana rule as a period of cruelty and oppression is also a case in point which further supplements the need for an objective assessment of this particular chapter in Nepalese history.

These arguments put forth in favour of Rana rule, though not enough, are well debated and provide the flavour which the book otherwise lacks. Readers might even be tempted to think that the section, somehow, does not conform to the overall nature and spirit of the volume, and that events should have been further elaborated with more details and used for a different publication altogether. As it stands, the section, though brilliant, is too brief and rather out of place and context.

In spite of the book being edited by a Nepali, the kind of errors that have crept in could have been avoided, and they must be seriously looked into if there is to be a revised edition of the volume. Prince Gyanendra (p.12) is referred to as the youngest grandson of King

Tribhuvan, whereas, the youngest, in fact, is Prince Dhirendra. Nepali is pointed out to be the official language (P. XII) whereas it is the national language of the country. The Malla rulers of the Kathmandu Valley were not "Newar Kings" as stated (P. XII) but were actually Kshatriyas. In a single page (the Family Tree) Bal Narsingh Kanwar is wrongly written as Balnar Singh Kanwar, Prithvi Bir as Prithvivir, Singha as Sinha, Subarna as Suvarna and Aishwarya as Aiswarya.

In the captions to the photographs, there is no consistency in the titles, and this seriously mars the spirit and the formal air the publication as a whole intends to convey. On the one hand, there are grand captions like "Maharaja Jang Bahadur with his senior Rani Hiranyagarbha Kumari" "Maharaja Dev Shamsher with his senior Maharani Krishna Kumari" and, on the other, more mundane ones like "Maharaja Chandra Shamsher with his wife", "Maharaja Bir Shamsher with his wife and brothers". etc. Besides, had the names of illegitimate offspring in the photographs been italicized, like in the family tree, it would be helpful for easy identification.

The main aim of the book, however, is to preserve the national heritage of the country through photographic relics in a very concrete way so as to conserve Nepal's cultural patrimony, and thus remind future generations of their own roots. In this regard, the publication is a successful undertaking and will in its own way contribute to the gigantic task of preserving the legacy of the kingdom. The effort is timely and even more commendable on grounds that the rapid pace of modernization might cause great cultural harm to a nation with a rich heritage and long traditions.

- Ananda P. Shrestha

Trans-Himalayan Traders: Economy Society and Culture in Northwest Nepal. 1986. By James F. Fisher. 232 pages. University of California Press. Berkeley. Price US \$ 35.00.

Here is another solid piece of ethnography to add to the growing composite mosaic that is Nepal. Fisher's book is a portrait of a Highland Buddhist village in Dolpo district. It is an economic portrait since economic production and exchange is this anthropologist's main concern. More specifically, this is an analysis of trade because according to the author, these Magar Nepalis are essentially a trading society. And it is a highly successful trading community even though the economic base of trade is agriculture; land is critical to most Nepali communities, including urban dwellers and government officers who own land. Fisher's characterization of the Magar is reasonable since their trading activity makes them distinctive and perhaps accounts for their continued success and survival in the severe environment of Dolpo locked as it is behind Dhaulagiri. Readers familiar with Fürer-Haimendorf's *Himalayan Traders* published in 1975 will find a section there (pp 204-222) on these same Magar people.

The people Fisher spent more than a year with in 1968-69 are farmers living in a recess of the western Nepal mountains "apparently" isolated from economic centres. They grow ample grain (it ranges from barley, buckwheat and millet to corn), beans, and most recently, potatoes. Through a long association with Bhotia people who originate in Tibet, they themselves built up a Tibetan woolen culture. Until recently they traded surplus grain for salt; as such they played a key role in the transfer south of Tibetan salt. Exploiting that position, as Fisher says, these Magar became a "cultural, linguistic and economic hinge between the Tibetan north and the Nepali south".

If anyone has any doubt about isolated hillfarmers' ability to adjust to economic flux and political turmoil, here is the evidence that will end your concerns that peasants cannot take care of themselves, because when Chinese occupiers in Tibet restricted cross border movements, the Magars' grain-salt trade with the north fell off; yet this Dolpo community was able to alter its trade cycle and make a new intermediary role for itself in another trade circuit in this area. The Magar relied less on wool and salt themselves, and began trading animals (sheep and horses) and woolen goods brought to them from the north to the south where they purchased goods (mainly non-essentials) to be sold in the outlying areas of Dolpo-Tichurong Valley and the areas of Khasan and Bhot beyond where the traders' own homes were.

This book also shatters any lingering belief we may have that a village lying behind a mountain divide without communication for 6 months of the year is populated by an isolated people. Contrary to what we might suppose these people are not isolated and their culture is not remote. As Fisher explains at the outset of his study, these hill people are "acutely aware of the world beyond their valley" and "have evolved strategies to deal with their remoteness". As the author puts it, "they exchange their way out of isolation" (p. 3). One assumes this is the

reason for Fisher's interest in this culture. It is certainly a good reason for our attention to his book which provides us with a thorough, systematic explanation of how trade operates here.

The Study focuses on one village, Tarangpur (pseudonym) one of the largest of 13 villages in Tichurong Valley, Dolpo district. Before describing in detail the dynamics of the trade system here the author introduces the area with a long chapter (pp 46-86) on how this community produces a surplus. It is important to establish because it is this surplus which permits trade. This chapter (Chapter 3) deals exclusively with farming: field allocations, crops, division of labour, technology, household expenditures and extent of surplus. Important observations on division of labour lay the setting for the following chapter (Chapter 4) which deals with the Salt Trade Circuit. We learn that the concentration of women in farming and the free (!) (surplus) time of men allows the latter to spend the long months they do trading. Almost all of it is longdistance trade determined in part by the ecology of the area. (They cannot return until the mountain passes open in spring).

Chapter 5 focuses on Transactions: the Commodities Circuit, the new south-oriented circuit which takes these Magar people to the Tarai and on to India for cottons and other manufactured items. Fisher emphasises the importance of this new circuit in "modernizing" these once Tibetanized people, making them more Hindu and more Nepali while they are so engaged. It is a process already well documented among the Thakali people, although this author makes only brief comparative reference to the latter (p. 128). Even though they are not as rich as the Thakali have become, these Magar traders appear to be extremely facile at adapting the manners, dress and language to succeed in the southern commodities circuit, a skill which should not be underestimated. This facility is as critical as those quantitative attributes such as capital, networks, credit-associations, and commodities. Fisher recognizes the quintessential force of this adaptability just as he recognizes that a major surplus fostering this trade is *time* (pp. 78-86). (It is also a surplus that results from a strict sexual division of labour, or an exploitation of female labour, depending on how one looks at it. In either case, this is a condition Magar [women] farmers share with others not only in Nepal but worldwide).

Chapter 6, Control and Uses of Wealth, examines how profits from trade are employed in the local village context, offering some interesting and perhaps alarming estimates of the wealth stored here. We are given an idea about what villagers expend for ceremonies and feasts, and how inheritance laws effect this moveable wealth. (The author does not dwell on any particular ceremony or cultural activity such as merit-making.)

The final chapter (Chapter 7) on Transactions in the Village Context attempts to understand how wealth from trade works into political and prestige considerations since ultimately we want to know how the accumulated differentiated wealth affects the social structure and political manoeuvrability or strength of the village.

As a whole, the book offers a fairly comprehensive account of transactions in this little known economic sector of Nepal, a sector which sustains an entire culture different from both the Tibetans to the north and the Nepali speaking Hindu people of the south. (These Magar people speak their own language, Kaike, as well as Nepali and Tibetan, and their religion is a combination of Lamaist and shaman practices with some Hindu rituals as well.) I would think Nepalis who have never been to this part of their country would, after reading this book, come away with a considerable respect for their compatriots living in Dolpo. And government planners might in particular appreciate they are dealing with both a flexible and enterprising people when they introduce their inevitable programmes and ideas into this district.

Those readers as well as scholars should read this book along with 4 others 1) Haimendorf's *Himalayan Traders*, 2) Jest's *Dolpo, Communautés de Langue Tibétaine du Népal*, 3) Macfarlane's *Resources and Population*, and 4) Blaikie, Cameron and Seddon's *Nepal in Crisis*. The first will put this in the wider context of trade all across the Himalayas, the second will provide the background of the less Nepalized people of Dolpo, e.g. the Tarap people, with whom these Magar have some ties, the third provides a more detailed, quantified exposition of local agriculture and its social ramifications, and finally the fourth provides the administrative-political context of corruption spreading from the Centre into the hills which is eroding the freedom and flexibility of traders and farmers to control prices, commodities, and maintain some degree of self-sufficiency. Today in Nepal, no single book tells the story; with such cultural diversity here, and with such excellence of research of different facets of culture, a reader cannot rely on any single volume or perspective. It is fortunate that so much excellent work has been done in this and adjacent areas of Nepal, so that if one cares about the subject and wants to gain a firm grasp of the dynamics of rural economy, then this range of materials is available.

Having made these points, I must note my reservations and disappointments with the book under review. A major item is its price. At \$35.00, an already heavily subsidized book becomes impossible for most interested readers. Translated into NR this relatively small book (232 pages, 191 pp. of which are main text) becomes an outrageous price--Rs 770! One wonders how books which are first based on data collection supported by research grants and later publishing subventions have reached this price range. I can imagine that the author and others in a similar position feel embarrassed by this.

The price is even more difficult to justify when we see that all the data herein is from 1968-70. It is almost 18 years since the author collected this data, and for reasons he does not explain, he has not undertaken a supplementary study in order to gather new data on which to evaluate his 1968 figures and to update his study. Were this a study of social structure, family or religion, the 18 year difference may not matter, but this is a study of a progressive trading community, one that made a major shift as a result of politico-economic changes in 1960.

Much has been going on in this area in the last 2 decades; we cannot but expect that the trade which is the focus of this study itself underwent major developments during this time. If it did not, that in itself is a worthy issue for investigation. Given the excellent detail of household consumption, expenses, field allocations, and so forth, we would not expect the author to repeat his study; there are other ways of bringing a work up to date which would not have been too time consuming and would have added yet another layer of scientific validity and significance. I have no doubt that the author himself regrets the time-lapse and he must have considered long and hard before allowing the book to be published with only 1968-69 data, but I do not know his reasons for following the course he has. Each reader or prospective buyer will have to decide if a new expensive book with 1968-69 data on economics is really relevant in Nepal today. Certainly no economic planning can take off from this study. A new investigation would have to be made to see where the Magars of Tarangpur are today; indeed it would be dangerous for a government plan to be designed on the data in this book without undertaking such a check.

A final minor point might be added about the pseudonym applied to the village under study here: Tarangpur. Anyone knowing Nepal can easily uncover the real name and one wonders about this pretence to protect the people since all the economic data regarding family incomes and enterprises is quite explicit and revealing. Fisher here is following an irrational unjustified custom set by his predecessors and it ought to be ended. One clumsy additional result of this naming is the next assignation, the name Tarangpurians [!] to the people of the village. I could not help thinking of Lilliputians every time I came across the word; finally I had to assign my own fictive term and I chose "Tarangi" for these fine Magar people. I wonder what they would prefer.

- B.N. Aziz